MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

VOL. 60, No. 3 SEPTEMBER, 1965

CONTENTS

Annual Subscription to the Magazine, $4.00. Each issue $1.00. The Magazine assumes no responsibility for statements or opinions expressed in its pages.

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Published quarterly by the Maryland Historical Society, 201 W. Monument Street, Baltimore, Md. 21201. Second-class postage paid at Baltimore, Md.

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MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

A Quarterly

Volume 60 SEPTEMBER, 1965 Number 3

MARYLAND'S ECONOMIC WAR WITH PENNSYLVANIA

By Gary B. Nash

Too little has been said, in interpreting the early history of America, of the unsettled and often disorderly nature of European society as it sought to establish itself on the American continent. The problems of adaptation—reconciling inherited political, social, and economic institutions to a wholly new environment—represent, in fact, an underlying theme for the entire pre-Revolutionary period.[1]

The latter quarter of the seventeenth century is particularly reflective of the disorganization that beset the colonies in their quest for maturity. Bacon's Rebellion in Virginia, Culpeper's Rebellion in North Carolina, the Keithian controversy in Pennsylvania, Coode's insurrection in Maryland, Leisler's overthrow of the government in New York, the collapse of Edmund Andros's Dominion of New England, and the Salem witch trials

[1] See the recent treatment of this theme in Clarence Ver Steeg, *The Formative Years, 1607-1763* (New York, 1964).

all bear testimony to the disarranged condition of colonists in the New World.[2] Nor was the inchoate state of affairs confined within the boundaries of individual provinces. Intercolonial dissension was as prevalent as intra-colonial friction. Conflicts over boundaries fired antagonisms between Connecticut and Rhode Island, Massachusetts and Connecticut, New York and Connecticut, Pennsylvania and Maryland, Virginia and Maryland, and North Carolina and Virginia. Economic rivalry inflamed relations between New York and East Jersey, West Jersey and Pennsylvania, Virginia and Maryland, and Maryland and Pennsylvania. Efforts to organize the colonies in common defense against the French in King William's War or to standardize the valuation of currency were badly hindered by the unwillingness of individual provinces to look beyond their own interests. The correspondence of English officials and of royal governors in the late seventeenth century is filled with accounts of such chaotic relations within and between colonies.

Against such a setting the economic conflict between Pennsylvania and Maryland, which arose in the closing years of the seventeenth century and embittered relations between the two colonies for more than a decade, can be seen. Far from unique, the commercial struggle was a typical example of the complex and often frustrating problems which confronted individual English plantations in their formative years. Moreover, it gave striking evidence of the process by which economic dislocation in one American colony—stemming from an Anglo-French military confrontation in the first place—could upset the economic equilibrium of another province.

No natural economic rivalry existed between Pennsylvania and Maryland. Indeed the economies of the two provinces, both proprietary in form, were complementary rather than antagonistic. Maryland, with essentially a one-crop economy—tobacco—welcomed the flour, bread, meat, beer, and other provisions which Pennsylvania, as well as New York and Massachusetts, provided. Pennsylvania, for her part, sought trade wherever profits beckoned on the mainland or in the West

[2] Virginia, as an example of the fluid state of society, is dealt with in detail in Bernard Bailyn, "Politics and Social Structure in Virginia," in James M. Smith, ed., *Seventeenth-Century America; Essays in Colonial History* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1959), pp. 90-115.

Indies. In Maryland, her merchants found a ready market for the produce of the rich alluvial soil watered by the Delaware River. In return, they accepted bills of exchange, money, and tobacco, all of which were badly needed to balance trade with England. Theoretically it was a mutually profitable relationship. Maryland, producing a staple crop highly marketable in England, maintained a favorable balance of trade with the mother country. The excess of exports over imports allowed her to purchase provisions from the New England and middle colonies, and left her free to concentrate on the culture of tobacco. Pennsylvania, at the same time, balanced her imports from England by exchanging her produce in other colonies for specie and bills of exchange transferable to English creditors.

Although Pennsylvania was less than a decade old as the 1690's began, and not yet a major factor in inter-colonial trade, a brisk traffic had developed between the Quaker colony and her southern neighbor. The extent of the commerce, though not precisely determinable from surviving records, was doubtless increasing in step with the fast-growing productive capacity of Pennsylvania—the future "Grainary of America" in the view of David Lloyd, a leading figure in the colony.[3] A number of contemporary figures noted the provision trade between Pennsylvania and Maryland, which was facilitated by the easy water access between the colonies.[4] By 1697, Robert Quary, judge of the newly appointed vice-admiralty court at Philadelphia, emphasized that the yearly Chesapeake tobacco fleet could scarcely set sail for England without the provisions supplied from Pennsylvania.[5] Francis Nicholson, Maryland's second royal governor, similarly noted the dependency upon the provisions of the Quaker colony, especially in the northern region of the province.[6]

[3] Extract of a letter from David Lloyd, October 2, 1686, in Albert C. Myers, *Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, West New Jersey, and Delaware, 1630-1707* (New York, 1912), p. 291.

[4] Richard Hill to William Penn, November 18, 1690, *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 4 (1880), 197; William Rodney to William Penn, October 14, 1690, *ibid.*, 199.

[5] Quary to the Board of Trade, September 22, 1697, J. W. Fortescue (ed.), *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, American and West Indies, 15 May 1696–31 October, 1697* (London, 1904), #1338. Hereafter, *CSP*.

[6] Nicholson to the Board of Trade, March 27, 1697, *Archives of Maryland*, (69 vols.; Baltimore, 1883-1961), XXIII, 87.

But by 1694 merchants in Maryland were painfully aware that what in theory seemed a profitable trade relationship was, in actual practice, acutely disadvantageous. In that year, the Pennsylvania General Assembly, supposedly responding to complaints from customs officials that Maryland tobacco was being smuggled out of Pennsylvania without paying the King's duty, passed a law imposing stiff fines on any traders who evaded lawful duties on leaf imported from Maryland.[7] In reality, the Quaker government was answering the pleas of tobacco planters in the three Lower Counties—later to become Delaware—who objected, as the preamble of the act stated, that the importation of Maryland tobacco tended "to the discouragement of the planters & Inhabitants of this Province & Territories."[8] It is probable that merchants in the Quaker colony were equally in favor of the act. The wartime disruption of shipping had ruined the tobacco trade to England and the act provided a ready excuse to demand specie instead of tobacco from Maryland debtors.[9]

Maryland was not long in discovering that Pennsylvania traders were less interested in enforcing the King's customs regulations than in obtaining always scarce specie in lieu of tobacco. "They refuse to barter or Exchange for any of the Comodities of the growth and production of this Province," wrote a committee of the Maryland Assembly shortly after the passage of the Pennsylvania Act,

> But takeing advantage of our necessityes Compell the In[n]holders and other the good people of this Province to pay ready money for the said goods or merchandizes, and that at Intollerable and Extravagant Rates, whereby the In[n]holders are forced again to Exact . . . still more grevous Rates of the Inhabitants of the Province, denying to Travellers in their necessityes though men of great Creditt and Reputation Reasonable Reliefe, Unlesse they pay ready money, whereby the money of this Province is at Intollerable Rates . . . Extorted by Ordinary Keepers, and by them paid to

[7] Staughton George, et al., eds. *Charter to William Penn and Laws of the Province of Pennsylvania, 1682-1700* (Harrisburg, 1879), 243.

[8] *Ibid.*

[9] For the effects of the War of the League of Augsburg (King William's War in the colonies) upon the Chesapeake tobacco trade see John M. Hemphill, "Virginia and the English Commercial System, 1689-1733," Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University, 1964, pp. 7-13.

Philadelphia Merchants, Exported in specie Clearly out of this Province, In such quantities that wee have been Informed of fifteene hundred pounds sterling these last two yeares to have been so carryed out.[10]

The refusal to barter with Maryland and the attendant specie drain was ill-calculated, as would soon become apparent, either to facilitate the flow of trade or to promote amicable relations between the adjacent colonies. The Pennsylvanians, in fact, had picked a singularly inappropriate moment to take a hard line with their southern neighbor. Scarcely had they embarked on their policy when Francis Nicholson arrived from England to replace Lionel Copley as royal governor of Maryland. A hard-bitten Anglican, Nicholson had long experience in the colonies, first as Sir Edmund Andros's lieutenant-governor in the Dominion of New England, and more recently as acting governor of Virginia. Nicholson harboured a special dislike for Quaker-dominated Pennsylvania. Raised to a military life and deeply concerned with problems of colonial defense in connection with the current global war between France and England, he viewed with repugnance the Quaker ideals of non-resistance. Their scruples against oaths similarly disturbed him, for he viewed such unorthodoxy as an impediment to the administration of justice. Nicholson had visions of a unified system of North American colonies subordinated to the interests and strict control of England. To such a mind, Pennsylvania represented the most glaring example of colonial perversity. Pacifistic, non-Conformist, a hot-bed of illegal trade, a haven for pirates, a welter of unassimilated and antagonistic religious and ethnic groups, it stood as the chief stumbling block to imperial reform, which even now was being pressed in London in an effort to tie together the disparate elements of England's colonial empire.[11]

Given the baneful effects of Pennsylvania's new trade policy, Maryland would surely have taken action to obtain relief.

[10] Journal of Maryland House of Delegates, 25 September, 1 October, 1694, C. O. 5:740, Public Record Office, London, pp. 335-36, 346, as quoted in Curtis Nettels, "The Economic Relations of Boston, Philadelphia, and New York, 1680-1715, *Journal of Economic and Business History*, 3 (1930-31), 211-12.

[11] See Leonidas Dodson, "Pennsylvania Through the Eyes of a Royal Governor," *Pennsylvania History*, 3 (1936), 89-97.

Under Nicholson's strong leadership, the response was probably more virulent than otherwise might have been expected. Thus, in September, 1694, the House of Burgesses laid a heavy duty on rum and beer imported from Pennsylvania, recommending at the same time that Maryland merchants procure their rum directly from Barbados rather than through their northern neighbor.[12] These measures, however, could not accomplish the desired effects, for most of the liquor duty could be passed on to the consumer by raising prices an equivalent amount. In 1695, therefore, Maryland fixed upon a far more effective tactic. Fully aware that a large part of Pennsylvania's imports from England were shipped to the Chesapeake with the annual tobacco fleet and then transported to Pennsylvania, Nicholson and his council proposed a duty of at least 10 per cent on all European goods "brought into this Province and sent to Pensilvania . . . or . . . brought from Virginia going through this Countrey for Pensilvania."[13] When the lower house approved the measure, Nicholson signed it into law in October, 1695.[14]

In initiating such a stringent measure, which applied to Pennsylvania alone, Nicholson was acting with a special vengeance. By 1695, it is apparent, the question of economic relations with Pennsylvania had, in his mind, if not in those of Maryland's merchants, outgrown the initial irritation with the refusal of Pennsylvania merchants to barter in tobacco. In Pennsylvania he saw the embodiment of all that was amiss in the American colonies. The Quaker colony, Nicholson reported to the Lords of Trade, was a center of illegal trade, trafficking freely with the Dutch West Indies, sending tobacco to Newfoundland, and exchanging tobacco for European goods with Scottish traders, all in flagrant violation of the navigation acts. Furthermore, Pennsylvania, through devious means, was undermining Maryland's entire economic health. Not only did seamen deserters from the Maryland and Virginia tobacco fleet make Philadelphia their refuge, but Marylanders by the score were drifting northward where land was more readily available, provincial taxes almost non-existent, and militia duty un-

[12] Journal of the House of Burgesses, 25 September, 1694, *CSP 1693-96*, #1338; *Arch. Md.*, XIX, 84.

[13] *Arch. Md.*, XIX, 223.

[14] *Ibid.*, 238, and List of laws passed in Maryland, 1692-95, C. O. 5:725, p. 7, Public Record Office (transcripts in Library of Congress).

known.[15] Equally to be lamented, the Pennsylvanians raised the legal value of English and Spanish coins in their colony in order to attract badly needed specie from nearby provinces.[16] This latter complaint was echoed by several of Virginia's most noteworthy merchants, who complained to the Board of Trade in London that Pennsylvania, in enhancing the value of Spanish pieces-of-eight to six shillings (the legal value in Maryland was four shillings six-pence and in Virginia five shillings), "drains all money from Maryland and Virginia."[17]

Nicholson spoke only in half-truths in explaining the economic depression gripping Maryland. As an ambitious colonial civil servant, he was naturally embarrassed at the economic decline which followed his arrival, and he was eager to assign external causes for the situation. Actually, the falling tobacco market in England, as well as the success of the French privateers, whose disruption of trade drove skyward both shipping costs and insurance rates, were more important factors, especially in motivating the smaller planters to try their fortunes elsewhere. And, if William Markham, Penn's cousin and deputy governor, can be believed, the migration of Marylanders was not unrelated to the arbitrary and authoritarian nature of Nicholson's rule. Many quit the Chesapeake colony for the freer climate of Pennsylvania, where, as Markham wrote Penn, "men are protected by laws and not put in fear of caning or cudgelling."[18]

Pennsylvania's merchants, themselves not unaffected by the

[15] Nicholson to the Duke of Shrewsbury, June 14, 1695, *CSP 1693-96,* #1897; same to Lords of Trade, June 14, 1695, C. O. 5:713, Library of Congress transcripts; same to Board of Trade, March 27, 1697, *Archives of Maryland,* XX, 80-90.

[16] It was commonly assumed in Pennsylvania, as elsewhere in the colonies, that if the legal value of Spanish and English coins was raised, holders of money in other provinces would trade where money had a higher value. Local trade would thus be stimulated. As prices rose to meet the bullion value of the coins, however, the effects of the legal enhancement would diminish. The design of the Philadelphia merchants in following such a policy was explained by John Blackwell, Penn's deputy governor in 1689, in a letter to the proprietor of January 25, 1689, Society Miscellaneous Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Also see Benjamin Chambers to Penn, February 1, 1700, Penn-Physick Papers, I, 11, HSP.

[17] Henry Hartwell, James Blair, and Edward Chilton to William Popple, October 20, 1697. *CSP 1696-1697,* #1396.

[18] Markham to Penn, February 22, 1697, *CSP 1697-98,* #76xiii. The depressed State of the tobacco market was described by Thomas Lawrence, Secretary of Maryland in a letter to the Lords of Trade, June 25, 1695, in *CSP 1693-96,* #1916.

wartime dislocation of trade, did not suffer lightly the Maryland customs law. When in 1696 the Maryland legislature renewed the impost on English goods destined for Pennsylvania, this time for three years,[19] six Philadelphia merchants petitioned Governor Nicholson for the release of goods consigned to them and held in Maryland pending payment of the provincial duty. The Maryland regulation, they argued, violated a guarantee in Penn's charter, granted by Charles II fifteen years before, which guaranteed the free passage of goods in and out of Pennsylvania, excepting customs imposed by the English government.[20] At the same time strong appeals went out to Penn in London, pleading that he employ his influence to obtain repeal of the discriminatory law.

Nicholson took little heed of the protests. At the very moment, in fact, he was intensifying his campaign against the Pennsylvanians, on the one hand writing condemnatory letters to colonial officials in London, and on the other making forays into the Lower Counties to glean evidence from the common people of their dissatisfaction with the Quaker government in Philadelphia.[21] In the autumn of 1696 Nicholson went so far as to dispatch a troop of sixty armed men into Pennsylvania territory to seize a ship captain suspected of piracy and to recover deserters from an English patrol boat, who were thought to have fled northward from the Chesapeake.[22] Governor Markham was convinced that Nicholson was plotting the annexation of Pennsylvania "whether from avarice or enmity," and accused the Maryland governor of inciting Philadelphia Anglicans against him and his government.[23]

While Pennsylvania's merchants could little influence Nichol-

[19] List of laws passed in Maryland, 1696, C. O. 5:719/5, Library of Congress transcripts.

[20] Samuel Carpenter, Charles Saunders, Samuel Jennings, Joseph Pidgeon, Charles Reade, and John Askew to Governor Nicholson, 1696, Penn Papers: Boundaries, Pennsylvania and Maryland, 1680-1768, p. 14, Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Another copy of the petition is in Miscellaneous Papers of Philadelphia County, p. 48½, HSP.

[21] See the long series of letters and depositions relating to Nicholson's endeavors in *CSP 1696-97*, #864iii and *CSP 1697-98*, #76ii-xiv.

[22] See Gary B. Nash, "Governor Francis Nicholson and the New Castle Expedition of 1696," *Delaware History* (April 1965), 229-239.

[23] Markham to Penn, February 22, 1697 *CSP 1697-98*, #76xiii; same to same, March 1, 1697, *ibid.*, #76xvi. Penn admonished Nicholson, upon hearing of the royal governor's actions, for attempting to "spy holes in our coat," and for plotting to subvert the government, even to the extent of territorial invasion with "Drums beating and Colours flying." See Penn to Nicholson, November

son, Penn, three thousand miles away, was more effectively taking up the Marylander's challenge. Though earlier discredited for his close association with James II, Penn had recently been restored to favor at court. Moreover, he was on intimate terms with many of the most influential officials at Whitehall, including William Popple, Secretary of the important Board of Trade —a collection of colonial "experts" only recently gathered to oversee England's complex commercial and colonial affairs. To Popple Penn addressed his objections at the "unprecedented and unwarrantable custom" levied by the Maryland government. The measure was both unneighborly and unjust, wrote Penn, and warned that if Maryland did not redress the grievance, Pennsylvania might retaliate by refusing provisions "for their ships bound to England with tobacco"—a measure which, according to Penn, would leave the tobacco fleet stranded in the Chesapeake for lack of stores on the homeward voyage.[24] In April, 1697, Penn pressed his case again, testifying before the Committee on Trade and Plantations of the House of Lords that the discriminatory Maryland law would not only "breed bad blood between the people of those provinces," but discourage the importation of English goods to Pennsylvania.[25] Although his arguments considerably impressed officials in London, always eager as good mercantilists to prevent stoppages in the flow of trade, the Quaker proprietor was arguing speciously. As long as a reasonable chance of profit remained, Pennsylvania merchants would continue to provision the tobacco fleets, in spite of the Maryland duty on European imports. As for constricting the flow of goods from England to the Delaware, the fact was that Pennsylvania imports were steadily on the rise during this period, a point which Nicholson was quick to point out in counter-argument to the Board of Trade.[26] Penn was simply adducing the most effective arguments he could find to

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22, 1697, Huntington Library, San Marino, Calif. (photostatic copy in Penn Papers: Photostats of Originals at Other Libraries, Historical Society of Pennsylvania).

[24] Penn to Popple, December 9, 1696, *CSP 1696-97*, #478; also see Memorial of William Penn to the Board of Trade, February 12, 1697, *ibid.*, #716.

[25] Penn to Committee of the House of Lords, April 1697, *CSP 1696-97*, #987.

[26] Nicholson to the Board of Trade, August 20, 1698, *Arch. Md.*, XXIII, 499-500. Pennsylvania imports from England in 1697 totalled £2997. The following year imports were valued at £10,704, and in 1699 at £17,064. See Charles Whitworth, *State of the Trade of Great Britain . . . from the year 1697 . . .* (London, 1776), part 2, 67.

support the merchants of his colony, who rankled at the retaliatory action which Nicholson had taken against them.

Although Penn apparently carried his cause in London, the vagaries of trans-Atlantic communications prevented any immediate redress of the objectionable impost on English goods passing through Maryland to Pennsylvania.[27] The Board of Trade, as its secretary wrote Nicholson in November, 1697, found merit in Penn's argument that the Maryland act inhibited the importation of goods from England, thereby injuring not only Pennsylvania but the mother country as well. Nonetheless, the law awaited the Attorney General's scrutiny, for it was only upon the opinion of that official that the Board would make its recommendation to the Privy Council for approval or rejection of the legislation.[28] It was an indication of the administrative sluggishness at Whitehall that in 1699, when the 10 per cent impost law was allowed to lapse, official repeal had not yet been received in Maryland, despite Penn's tireless efforts.

With the expiry of the impost in 1699, Maryland reached a temporary reconciliation with Pennsylvania. Governor Nicholson, whose irrepressible hostility toward the Quaker government at Philadelphia had kept relations between the colonies in a state of constant tension, had departed for Virginia to assume the governorship of that colony. Too, the return of peace in 1697 brought a general improvement in the tobacco trade. But Maryland, though she was producing considerable grain and livestock by the beginning of the eighteenth century, had not yet solved her economic problems. Her need for provisions from other colonies continued, accompanied by the outward flow of specie.

Far more serious was a new dislocation of the tobacco trade, which for almost a decade, beginning in 1703, threw the Maryland economy into a state of crisis. War had broken out between England and France in April, 1702, and war, as had been demonstrated in the 1690's, meant depression for the tobacco planters. Not only did higher freight and insurance rates again cut into profits, but tobacco prices plunged sharply as England's customary re-export markets in France and elsewhere on the

[27] Penn's understanding that the law would be disallowed is expressed in his letter to William Popple, Secretary of the Board of Trade, November 9, 1698, *CSP 1697-98*, #35.

[28] Board of Trade to Governor Nicholson, November 17, 1697, *ibid.*, #49.

Continent were closed. Often tobacco shipped to England sold for less than the freight, insurance, handling, and customs charges.[29]

With tobacco markets glutted, English merchants retrenched by protesting bills of exchange drawn by Maryland merchants on credits—now nonexistent—in London. Thus, late in 1703, a Philadelphia merchant reported that nearly half of the bills of exchange drawn that summer by Maryland merchants, many of which were purchased by Pennsylvania merchants, were protested in England.[30] "There is Such Grevious Complaints from Maryland . . . about protested bills as the like was never known," complained another Philadelphia trader with extensive contacts in the Chesapeake area to his agent in London.[31] Already the winds of economic misfortune in Maryland were being felt on the Delaware.

Beset by economic depression, Maryland took what steps she could to counteract the adverse trend. Chief among them was an attempt to achieve provincial self-sufficiency, which, if it could not cure the tobacco problem, would at least free Maryland from the detrimental trading relationship with Pennsylvania by which the Quaker colony drained Maryland of specie. To this end an act passed in 1704 prohibited altogether the importation of bread, beer, flour, wheat, other grains, malt, tobacco, and horses.[32] The design of the act, as Governor Seymour wrote in forwarding the legislation to London for approval,

was to prevent the mischief our neighbouring provinces use against us in drawing away all our Moneys which they have a long time Practic'd to the great Detriment of this poore Country who have most industriously pursued the making of Tobacco and neglected even necessary Tillage So that while Tobacco bore a price in Eng-

[29] For the tobacco depression during Queen Anne's War see Nicholson to the Board of Trade, March 13, 1702/03, *CSP 1702-03*, #450; Quary to the Board of Trade, May 30, 1704, *CSP 1704*, #353; same to same, April 2, 1706, *CSP 1706-08*, #225; Seymour to the Board of Trade, August 21, 1706, *ibid.*, #470; same to same, June 23, 1708, *ibid.*, #1570; and Hemphill, "Virginia and the English Commercial System," 26-42.

[30] James Logan to Penn, December 5, 1703, in Edward Armstrong, ed., *The Correspondence between William Penn and James Logan . . .* (Philadelphia, 1870-72), I, 254. Hereafter cited as *Penn-Logan Correspondence*.

[31] Isaac Norris to John Askew, September 6, 1703, Norris Letterbook 1702-04, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

[32] *Arch. Md.*, XXVI, 314-15.

land wee had money in England worth the reaching Contrivance of our Neighbours to gripe at which they have so effectually done that this province trusting to their Manufacture of tobacco have overdrawne themselves in England and the pensilvanians who have traded upon a Certainty got many of this province into their Debts —The Generall prohibition I confess is not so regular and it had been better to have laid a large duty but this province stands on the Levell with other her Majestys Governments in America.[33]

In the same year another act imposed a heavy duty on liquors imported from Pennsylvania. "Our neighbours in Pennsylvania . . . have for many years come hither and pickt up the little Currant money we have scraped to answer Small Conveniencys to the great prejudice of this Country which it is hoped this Imposition will prevent," wrote Governor Seymour.[34]

Maryland's efforts to offset the tobacco depression brought cries of outrage from Pennsylvania merchants. The duty on liquor would "prove a great discouragement," wrote James Logan to Penn in 1704, for Philadelphia merchants had much favored the circuitous trade which carried Pennsylvania grain to Barbados, and then Barbados rum to Maryland for bills of exchange.[35] Isaac Norris, one of Philadelphia's wealthiest merchants, bitterly opposed the Maryland laws. "None of the plantations ought to prohibit anything which the laws of trade allow," he wrote Penn, "so 'tis barbarous and extremely ill-natured to prohibit bread, &c, the staff of life. The Spaniard, who is as jealous of his trade in the West Indies as of his wife at home, allows us to carry them provisions in time of peace; and shall subjects of the same Crown be suffered to do this?"[36]

It was apparent by 1704 that in time of war Maryland's economic troubles were also Pennsylvania's. Lacking products of her own marketable in England, Pennsylvania had come to rely on bills of exchange, purchased in other colonies, as a means of balancing accounts with English suppliers. Most of these bills,

[33] Quoted in Margaret S. Morriss, *The Colonial Trade of Maryland, 1689-1715* (Baltimore, 1914), p. 83n.

[34] Quoted in Nettels, "The Economic Relations of Boston, Philadelphia and New York," *Journal of Economic and Business History*, 3 (1930-31), 212.

[35] Logan to Penn, May 26, 1704, *Penn-Logan Correspondence*, I, 289.

[36] Norris to Penn, February 13, 1704/05, Norris Letterbook 1704-06, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

as Norris noted, came from Maryland.[37] Thus, when the English credit of Chesapeake tobacco merchants failed, the Pennsylvanians lost their source of bills. "We cannot coin Bills," wrote Logan despairingly from Philadelphia. "If the Marylanders have not credit in England 'tis in vain to expect good Bills from them & this our Merchants have found this last year by dear experience."[38] In 1705 Logan summed up the effects of the economic interdependency of Pennsylvania and Maryland: Pennsylvania's trade, he wrote, "is very mean, through the prohibition of our goods in Maryland, and their turning bankrupt besides."[39]

The Maryland acts of 1704 were re-authorized in 1707, although this time the prohibition against plantation imports was all the more galling to Delaware River merchants, for it prohibited Pennsylvania produce alone.[40] In London, Penn did what he could to obtain disapproval of the law, terming it "foolish as well as Malicious" in complaints to the Board of Trade and to Maryland's agent there, former governor Blackiston.[41] But the Quaker proprietor's influence was on the wane, for Penn—himself in the midst of bankruptcy proceedings—was bargaining with the Crown for the sale of his rights of government in Pennsylvania. It was through no influence of Penn but because of a critical food shortage in Maryland that in 1709 the act prohibiting Pennsylvania imports was finally suspended, only to be revived in the following year.[42]

By this time, such means of redressing unfavorable trade relationships with other colonies had become a regular part of Maryland's commercial policy. Irritating though they doubtless were to Pennsylvania's merchants, the restrictions did not completely close Maryland as a market for Pennsylvania produce. Indeed, merchants of the Quaker colony expanded their trade

[37] Norris to Richard Miles and Richard Richbell, February 22, 1703/04, Norris Letterbook 1702-04.

[38] Logan to Penn, May 17, 1705, *Pennsylvania Archives,* 2nd Series, VII (Harrisburg, 1878), 22; for similar statements see Norris to John Askew, August 3, 1704, Norris Letterbook 1702-04; Norris to Mordecai Maddock, August 23, 1705, Norris Letterbook 1704-06; and Norris to Thomas Zachary, August 26, 1705, *ibid.*

[39] Logan to Penn, August 22, 1705, *Penn-Logan Correspondence,* II, 53.

[40] *Arch. Md.,* XXVII, 172-73.

[41] Penn to Richard Hill, July 22, 1707, Gratz Collection, Box 33, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

[42] *Arch. Md.,* XXVII, 482, 574.

to Maryland as the eighteenth century wore on, concentrating on articles not on the prohibited list.

Gradually a *modus vivendi* in economic relations was reached, although any accommodations were to await the return of peace in 1713 and the restoration of the tobacco trade which followed. Even in 1715 the act prohibiting Pennsylvania imports was renewed, again to prevent the Quaker colony from "dreyning our ready coyne," as Governor Hart wrote in forwarding the legislation to London.[43] Long-range solutions required the development of more sophisticated economies in both Maryland and Pennsylvania. Gradually the Chesapeake colony achieved a diversification of crops which alleviated the excessive dependence on Pennsylvania foodstuffs, which in periods of tobacco depression compounded her economic problems.[44] Pennsylvania, for her part, sought and captured new grain markets in Newfoundland, Portugal, the Madeira Islands, and elsewhere, which added flexibility to the Quaker economy and released it from undue reliance on Maryland as a source of bills of exchange.[45]

[43] Francis Hart to Lord Townshend, July 30, 1715, *CSP 1714-15,* #541.

[44] Francis Hart to Lord Bolingbroke, July 11, 1714, *CSP 1712-14,* #717; Hart to Lord Townshend, July 30, 1715, *CSP 1714-15,* #541.

[45] For the economic development of Pennsylvania in the eighteenth century see Arthur L. Jensen, *The Maritime Commerce of Colonial Philadelphia* (Madison, Wis., 1963).

THE CIVIL WAR DIARY OF JOSEPH H. COIT

Edited by JAMES MCLACHLAN

A LITTLE over a hundred years ago, in June of 1863, Lee, in an attempt to bring the Civil War to the very door of the enemy, moved the three great corps of Generals A. P. Hill, Early and Ewell northwards through western Virginia and Maryland into Pennsylvania. All through that June normally peaceful citizens of Washington County, Maryland, were shocked into sudden alertness as Union and Confederate troops advanced and retreated through the towns and countryside. Among the witnesses to this long prelude to Gettsyburg was Joseph Howland Coit, a young Episcopal clergyman and instructor in Natural Science and Mathematics at the College of St. James, an Episcopalian preparatory school and college in the path of the maneuvering armies, about six miles south of Hagerstown. Coit kept a diary that June, and in its pages are recorded some of the suspense, confusion and sadness he felt and saw as, under the pressure of war, the secure, ordered world of his small institution dissolved about him.[1]

Joseph Howland Coit (1831-1906) was born in Wilmington, Delaware, the second son and namesake of the Rev. Joseph H. Coit, an Episcopal clergyman. He grew up in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, and in Plattsburg, New York, where his father held parishes. At the age of fourteen Coit wrote to the Rev. John Barrett Kerfoot, Rector of the young College of St. James and its preparatory school, requesting admission. He explained that his father was a poor clergyman with a large family and asked if he might not therefore be educated free of charge. Since St. James had a policy of reduced fees for clergymen's sons, ar-

[1] For a good account of Southern maneuvers before Gettysburg—the background to Coit's Diary—see Douglas Southall Freeman, *Lee's Lieutenants: A Study in Command* (3 vols.: New York, 1942-44), III, 20-89. For another contemporary description, see Fletcher M. Green, "A People at War: Hagerstown, June 15—August 13, 1863," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XL (Dec., 1945), 251-260.

rangements were made and Coit entered the preparatory school, the youngest and smallest boy in his class. He graduated from the College in 1851, and was admitted to the Episcopal priesthood in 1855. With the help of well-to-do relatives he spent the years from 1858 to 1860 studying advanced physics and chemistry at the Sorbonne, and then, just before the outbreak of the Civil War, returned to Maryland to teach at his alma mater.[2]

In 1860 the College of St. James was celebrating its eighteenth successful year. It had been founded through the efforts of Episcopal laymen in Hagerstown and of William R. Whittingham, bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Maryland.[3] St. James was only the second institution of its type in the country, and was modeled directly on the first, Flushing Institute and the College of St. Paul's in Flushing, Long Island.[4] Bishop Whittingham had asked the founder and head of the Long Island institution, William Augustus Muhlenberg, to serve in the same capacity for the proposed school in Maryland, but Muhlenberg preferred to remain in New York.[5] As Rector for the new school he sent instead the Rev. John Barrett Kerfoot, one of his favorite pupils and an instructor at Flushing.[6]

With much difficulty, Bishop Whittingham and the Hagerstown laymen had raised enough money to purchase Fountain Rock, a magnificent mansion with twenty acres of grounds not far from Hagerstown, as the home for the new college. The building had been started in 1792 by General Samuel Ringgold, a local magnate, as the manor house for his 17,000 acre Conococheague Manor estate. It was later embellished with

[2] Arthur S. Pier, *St. Paul's School, 1855-1934* (New York, 1934), pp. 50-54.

[3] For a good brief account of St. James, see Hall Harrison, "The College of St. James (1843-1864)," in Bernard C. Steiner, *History of Education in Maryland* (Washington, D.C., 1894), pp. 258-60.

[4] The first announcement of St. James's, *Opening Services. . . . Outline of the Discipline, Studies, Etc., St. James Hall, near Hagerstown, Washington County, Maryland* (Hagers-Town, 1842), is an almost word-for-word copy of *An Account of the Grammar School, or Junior Department, of St. Paul's College* (New York, 1842).

[5] Alvin W. Skardon, "William Augustus Muhlenberg: Pioneer Urban Church Leader" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1960), *passim.*

[6] Hall Harrison, *Life of the Right Reverend John Barrett Kerfoot, D.D., LL.D., First Bishop of Pittsburgh* (2 vols.: New York, 1886), I, 21-43. Harrison's work is the most complete account available of the College of St. James. It contains too several chapters of recollections by Joseph H. Coit.

interiors by Benjamin Latrobe, architect of the capitol in Washington. Ringgold lived too well; his heirs were forced to auction what remained of the estate for debts in 1832. The property passed through several hands, and in 1842 the Episcopal Church acquired it for only $5,000.[7]

Under Kerfoot, the College and its preparatory school were an almost immediate success. "The sin of our first parents," Bishop Whittingham said at the College's opening, "was an attempt to attain intellectual growth in defiance of the will of GOD."[8] Therefore Kerfoot, following Muhlenberg's example, combined thorough religious instruction with the usual secular education. He recruited a small, largely northern, faculty, and soon attracted students from wealthy families all over the South. By 1848 St. James had 98 students, and by 1857, 117. When the College closed its session in June, 1861, shortly after the beginning of the war, enrollment rose almost to 175 students. But the following October only sixteen returned. The student body had been overwhelmingly southern, and most of the former pupils had loyally joined the Confederate army.[9] Kerfoot and his staff, however, determined to keep the College in operation and opened the October, 1862, session with between forty and fifty students.

Several times the war came almost to the gates of the College. The battles of South Mountain and Antietam were fought only a few miles away, and Kerfoot and his staff—though mainly strong Union sympathizers—offered every possible assistance to the wounded, Confederate or Union.

On June 11, 1863, Joseph Coit made one of his infrequent entries in his Diary. It was the ninth anniversary of his ordination, and while making new vows he promised himself "heart searching and repentance." But the next two weeks would

[7] Edith Rossiter Bevan, "Fountain Rock, The Ringgold Home in Washington County," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XLVII (Mar., 1952), 19-28; Thomas J. C. Williams, *A History of Washington County, Maryland, . . . Including A History of Hagerstown* (2 vols.: Hagerstown, 1906), I, 278.

[8] "Bishop Whittingham's Address," *Opening Services St. James Hall*, p. 9.

[9] Of the 117 students at the College in 1857-1858 only 18 were from north of the Mason-Dixon line. The largest number (42) were from Maryland. *Register of the College of St. James, and the Grammar School . . . 1857-58* (Baltimore, 1859), pp. 9-13; *Register of the College of St. James and the Grammar School . . . 1848-49* (Baltimore, 1849), pp. 5-8; Williams, *History of Washington County*, I, 341-43.

afford him little time for either. Instead, with a refreshing immediacy, he would record from day-to-day in the pages of his Diary a multitude of new and unhappy impressions.[10]

* * * *

Sunday, June 14, 1863

In the morning at St. Mark's[11]—sermon. "If they hear not Moses and the prophets etc" St. Luke.

On my return to the College I was told of rumors that fighting was going on at Winchester and Martinsburgh. Later in the afternoon Dr. Magill[12] brought out the same stories, adding that the Post Master at H[agerstown] had left the place and that many of the citizens were preparing to do the same. Other stories are told concerning the removal of stores, etc. Dr. Falk[13] on his return from C[hambersburg?] through Williamsport partly confirmed and partly denied the rumours. There is no doubt but that the Confederates are in the Valley in force.

Monday, June 15, 1863

At breakfast the waiter H.U. who returned from H[agerstown] at 4 this morning told us that all day yesterday the blacks had been fleeing to Pennsylvania—that last night they burned the U.S. stores at H[agerstown]—that soldiers and wagons in one continuous stream had been pouring through en route for Ch[ambersburg?]. At 9. a colored man brought tidings that the Confederates were in Williamsport. Mr. E[dwards][14] and Mrs. C. from Hagerstown con-

[10] Coit's Diary is in the Archives Room of the Sheldon Library, St. Paul's School, Concord, New Hampshire. I am grateful to the Rector, the Rev. Matthew M. Warren, and the Trustees of St. Paul's for permission to publish the Diary here.

I have imposed paragraphs and expanded contractions and abbreviations in the Diary. My expansions of the abbreviations of proper names are indicated within brackets.

[11] Built in 1852, St. Mark's at Lappans was a small church not far from the College at which Coit regularly conducted services. Williams, *History of Washington County*, I, 166.

[12] Dr. Charles Magill (1806-1881), a vestryman of St. John's (Episcopal) Church in Hagerstown, had two sons serving in the Confederate army. A strong Southern sympathizer, after the battle of Gettysburg he left for Virginia, where he was commissioned an officer in the Confederate army. Williams, *History of Washington County*, I, 428.

[13] Dr. Alexander Falk, professor of Greek, Latin, Hebrew and History at the College.

[14] Rev. Henry Edwards (1821-1897), a Connecticut-born, Flushing Institute and Yale-educated descendant of Jonathan Edwards, was rector of St. John's Church in Hagerstown from 1853 to 1867. To the distress of his congregation, he was an ardent Union sympathizer. Williams, *History of Washington County*, I, 386, 583-84.

firmed the account . . . pretty much. Most of the Union (par. ex.) left during the night.

In the afternoon Dr. F[alk] and Cor. and also her Brother were in town and saw a body of Confederate Cavalry (about 1000) pass through en route to Pennsylvania. They went on very quietly. As we came out from tea a party of Confederate Cavalry rode through the grounds. The boys rushed to meet them—cheering and waving their hats. Dr. K[erfoot] and myself stood on the circle watching the invaders with sad hearts. H[all] H[arrison][15] joined in the demonstration—alas for us and for him. The Rebs are out after horses and took two . . . from A. Rowland.

Tuesday, June 16, 1863

I was wakened before the bell by noise, and looking out of my window saw most of the boys gathered about a squad of cavalry. Soon a cheer was raised and the party rode off. After breakfast we were told that two of the boys Baukard and Boteler had gone off with the Confederates. The Rector after consultation determined to speak in Chapel with regard to demonstrations joining the S[outhern] army etc. which he did strongly, prudently, and well. I noticed several absent—and soon learned that Latrobe, Hayward, W[illiam] Harrison, Heighe, Edmundson and Motter had also gone to H[agerstown] to enlist.[16] About 11 A.M. W[illiam] H[arrison] and Ed[mundson] came back to get some things. W[illiam] H[arrison] so excited as to act and talk like a fool. He and Ed[mundson] are said to have gone with the man who came out with them to Mr. R[owland]'s to take horses. H[all] H[arrison] has written a note to the Colonel to whom W[illiam] H[arrison] applies to get him to refuse W[illiam].

T. and C. Pitts went to Williamsport today. According to their account a large infantry force is there. Heard through them of Ives Smedes' death—he was killed at Chancellorsville. Weddell who was here several years ago was also killed there.[17]

[15] Rev. Hall Harrison (1837-1900), instructor in Latin, Greek and English at the College, from which he had graduated in 1857. Harrison was one of the few strong supporters of the Confederacy on the faculty. He was a native of Ellicott City, Maryland, where, after some years as a master at St. Paul's School in Concord, N.H., he ended his days as rector of St. John's Church. Pier, *St. Paul's School,* pp. 46-50.

[16] Boteler, Heighe and Motter were students from Washington County. William Harrison was a close (how close I have been unable to determine) relation of Hall Harrison. Latrobe was probably Benjamin H. Latrobe, a grandson of the architect, and one of the many members of the Latrobe family to attend St. James. [Anonymous], *Baltimore, Its History and Its People* (3 vols.: New York and Chicago, 1912), II, 399-400.

[17] Ives Smedes of Raleigh, N.C., and Lucien Porter Weddell of Nachitoches, Louisiana, were both students at the College in the late 1850's. *St. James Register 1857-58,* pp. 9-13.

Js. Snodgrass was at tea this evening. He was slightly wounded at Winchester. According to this account W[inchester] was attacked on Sunday. Milroy evacuated that night—and fought his way to H[arper's] Ferry. The confederates are said to have captured 5000 men and [illegible] cannon.[18]

Wednesday, June 17, 1863

H[all] H[arrison] having received a note from W[illiam] stating he had not enlisted walked in this morning and brought W[illiam] out. He then in the afternoon drove him to Boonsboro from whence W[illiam] is to go to F[rederick] and Baltimore.

Dr. Wilson[19] was here today and says there is no interruption of communication between Boons[boro] and Fr[ederick]. No confederates have yet appeared east of the Potomac South of Williamsport. I saw yesterday's [Baltimore] Am[erican] which gives one some idea of what is going on without.

None of those who ran off Tuesday have yet enlisted and only two will do so. Latrobe and Hayward Tuesday, Edmundson and Heighe came back this evening. Heighe submitting himself is to stay until he can be sent to his mother. Edm[undson] was sent off the grounds. Motter returned yesterday being sent back by his uncle in H[agerstown].

A party of scouts from H[arper's] F[erry] were as far as Funkstown today. They stopped Mr. B[reathed][20] on his way there. A squad of C[onfederate] cavalry drove them away. . . . In H[agerstown] where the stores have all been closed they were compelled I am told to open them and to take S[outhern] money. A man was arrested who refused. Isaac Br[eathed][21] and Odis have joined the confederates. . . .

H[all] H[arrison] resigned his Professorship yesterday. The Rector declining to consult with him in the present crisis on account of his conduct Monday evening.

Thursday, June 18, 1863

. . . . I proposed to Dr. K[erfoot] in the morning the importance

[18] Maj. Gen. Robert H. Milroy's actual losses to the South at the battle of "Second Winchester" were 3,358 prisoners and about 61 cannon. Freeman, *Lee's Lieutenants,* III, 27.

[19] Dr. Henry Beatty Wilson (1830-1883) of Boonsboro, a physician prominent in local affairs. He named his tenth and youngest child Joseph Coit Wilson. Williams, *History of Washington County,* II, 1186-87.

[20] John W. Breathed, Curator (roughly, treasurer) of the College. Well-to-do and prominent in local affairs, he was a strong Southern sympathizer, with three sons in the Confederate army. After the war he moved to Virginia, where he became mayor of Lynchburg. Williams, *History of Washington County,* I, 365.

[21] John W. Breathed's fifteen year old son. Williams, *History of Washington County,* I, 365.

of attempting to get our students home while we could, particularly the Pennsylvania boys. He agreed with me and after consulting Dr. F[alk] and Cnt. the attempt to break up was resolved upon[.] Mr. B[reathed] went to town to get passes if necessary and engage vehicles. He was told by the general there that his orders were to let no person pass either in or out of H[agerstown] though we could go to B[oonsboro]. As no trains can come here we must wait until tomorrow when N. or B[reathed] will apply to General Rhodes [*sic*][22] at Williamsport who commands on this side of the river.

We have heard cannonading very distinctly during the middle of the day and the report is that H[arper's] F[erry] has been taken. Nous verrons.

H[arrison] was at Dr. Maddox's[23] this afternoon and brought us an Am[erican]. Latrobe and H[ayward?] were here this morning. I saw H[ayward?] for a moment. The cavalry returned from Pennsylvania today. So N. or B[reathed] reports. The boys who ran off go to F[rederick] today except L[atrobe] and Hayward. The neighborhood is full of absurd stories with regard to the conduct of the students. The country is wonderfully quiet—there is very little moving among the people—and the military keep very quiet. Parties of two or three occasionally ride through our grounds. But always quietly.

Friday, June 19, 1863

Boyle, an old student (1853) from North Carolina, was here for several hours this morning. His visit was a pleasant one. He was cordial and talked well. Several of our old students are near us.

Mr. B[reathed] about 11 A.M. called to tell us that it was useless to attempt to break up. No cars have left for Baltimore since Wednesday and the confederate pickets are now thrown out in all directions. This evening we hear that they are marching on Fr[ederick] [.] If so we are within their lines—and now must patiently await events.

There has fallen a heavy rain near sundown, the first we have had for a long time. The Rector told the boys after prayers tonight of the attempt we had made to get them home—and added some good words. Most now are self-controlled and obedient.

We are obliged at present to make our bread here and fall back

[22] Maj. Gen. Robert E. Rodes had recently assumed command of D. H. Hill's old division. Freeman, *Lee's Lieutenants,* II, 700-701.

[23] Dr. Thomas Maddox (? —1887), member of a wealthy landed family and one of the founders of the College. Williams, *History of Washington County,* I, 587.

upon the bacon we have in store. Very fortunately only last week the College received a new supply of sugar, tea and coffee. We have also some 400 lbs of butter on hand, and have this week secured 10 bls of flour.

It has been profoundly quiet all day—and yet events are bringing on the hours of confusion and suspense. . . .

Saturday, June 20, 1863

The day has been perfectly quiet. No sounds at the College of cannon or drums. It has been raining a good part of the time and the sky has been dark and air damp and chill. This morning I walked out with Coster[24] nearly to Welty's Toll-gate on the turnpike. We saw one or two squads of confederate cavalry and heard the music of a band in the direction of Funkstown. In one or two fields farmers were out working at their corn but most everybody seemed to be shut up at home. The confederates have left Williamsport and moved to H[agerstown] and are massed there, and a few miles from there. No person is at present allowed in or out of H[agerstown] without a pass.

Jno. Heighe is here this evening. He comes from Martinsburgh.

Sunday, June 21, 1863

The day has been a stirring one . . . the rumours and news. Heighe having spent the night here, left for H[agerstown] after breakfast, taking with him some butter to Mrs. K[ennedy].[25] I walked over to St. Mark's. On the way I heard very distinctly the beating of drums in the direction of Sharpsburgh. I passed three or four groups of farmers on the road talking over events, some of them angrily. At Church some thirty people were assembled. I read the service and preached from St. Mark, 12.49. . . . I also gave notice of the celebration of the Holy Communion next Sunday.

On coming out of Church I met Dr. Wilson. He had seen Friday's and Saturday's papers and had endeavored to get one for us but was prevented—the copies he had secured being taken by a party of Cavalry passing through on their way to F[rederick]. He had however prepared an abstract of the news for us. Hooker is said to be at S[nicker's?] Gap about 40 miles southwest from us. Lee is at Centreville, 20 miles from Washington. Longstreet's corps

[24] Robert John Coster of Baltimore, an 1862 graduate of the College, in 1863 a tutor there. Harrison, *Life of Bishop Kerfoot*, I, 228.

[25] Mrs. Frances Howell Kennedy of Hagerstown, widow of Dr. Howard Kennedy. A staunch friend of St. James', among her many benefactions during the Civil War was the rescue and care of the injured Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr., after the battle of Antietam. Williams, *History of Washington County*, I, 428; Catherine Drinker Bowen, *Yankee from Olympus: Justice Holmes and His Family* (Bantam Book ed.: New York, 1960), pp. 148-58.

has crossed at Shepherdstown and is now encamped near Sharpsburgh. Such are some of the rumors. H[arper's] Ferry has not been taken. Rode back with Mr. Breathed and had a disagreeable conversation by the way.

Three officers friends of the Pitts' were here part of the day. . . . Nicholson rode up . . . and went to chapel and afterwards took tea and spent the evening. None of the Giles's are killed, J[ohn] is a major Confederate States army and is stationed at Savannah. Willy is in very bad health. N[icholson] seemed cordial but was rather rude in his remarks. . . .[26]

Fred. got in to town today, having passed the pickets. He brought out notes from Mrs. K[ennedy] and others. Things were quiet in town. In the morning Mr. Edwards had a good congregation of confederates who behaved well and heard the President of U.S. prayed for without sign. Ewell and Rhodes, though Episcopalians, went to the Catholic Church. At the Lutheran Church where a large body of soldiers attended the pastor prayed for Mr. L[incoln] cabinet etc. Thus ends week one of excitement and confederate occupation. Their soldiers appear well equipped, the discipline excellent. Many horses have been taken from the farmers, but in most cases without authority, and they have nearly all been returned. The Confederates have opened some of the stores in H[agerstown] and compelled them to sell and to take the S[outhern] money—at Ch[ambersburg?] they took the stock of 2 drugstores and sent it South. On the whole they behaved well.

Monday, June 22, 1863

Last night after I had gone to bed the Rector came to tell me that F. Lewis had come to tell him that he felt it his duty to join the S[outhern] army. Dr. K[erfoot] said what he could to dissuade him. This morning L[ewis] informed him that he had not changed his mind and would go while we were at chapel. And so he has gone.

Turner, brother of T[urner] now at the College, an old student of my brother's[27] was here today, and asked to see me. I found him a pleasant gentlemanly fellow. But his account of matters is very different from the one I got from Wilson yesterday. Long-

[26] In the 1857-58 session of the College John Reston Giles and William Giles, both of Savannah, were members, respectively, of the junior and freshman classes. John Joseph Nicholson of Montgomery, Alabama, was a member of the junior class in the same year. *St. James Register 1857-58,* pp. 9-13.

[27] Joseph Coit's brother, Rev. Henry Augustus Coit (1830-1895) was in 1863 Rector of the eight-year old St. Paul's School in Concord, N. H. He received his A.B. from St. James and had taught there briefly. Pier, *St. Paul's School,* pp. 7-8.

street's Corps is not in Maryland—but at or near Snicker's gap. Nor is Lee at Centreville. General Ewell's headquarters are at Sharpsburgh—and part of his army. From Turner's account I infer that the whole number of confederates in Maryland does not exceed 20 or 25 thousand. Six weeks ago, this young man was in New York and Philadelphia in disguise, having run the blockade. He spoke warmly of Henry [Coit] and his family.

Mr. H. and Br[eathed] returned from town at noon and report that the confederates have left. They took up their march for Pennsylvania at 5 A.M. They were 2 hours 30 minutes passing a single point from all I can learn—their number is about 10,000. H. and B[reathed] attempted again in the afternoon to get to Sharpsburgh but were unable.

Near tea-time a person named Sever came from Winchester in search of the slaves of his father. He carried off our cook and her two children. It was a sad sight.

In the evening some coloured women from Williamsport came with a story [rumor] that the confederates were retreating in great confusion along the Greencastle turnpike. They had seen their wounded in large number brought into W[illiamsport]. McClellan had met and de-feated the enemy. Great Judaeus Apollo—too good and too soon to be true.

. . . . Lynch is willing to carry the boys to M———— [illegible] or even Baltimore if a pass can be procured and the Rector will go along. Tomorrow Dr. K[erfoot] proposes attempting to see General Ewell and finding out what we can do.

The confederates have taken 21 head of cattle from Br[eathed] and 65 from Dodge giving them receipts.

We had music on the steps after tea—music and war do not seem to fit together very well. But I found both relief and pleasure in it.

Tuesday, June 23, 1863

The Rector had purposed going to see General Ewell today. But General E[well] and his entire corps have gone into Pennsylvania. They were passing during the morning on both the S[harpsburg] and B[oonsboro] pikes.

This afternoon Lynch came out by appointment to see what could be done in the way of getting the boys off. It seems probable that to-morrow there will be no pickets on the roads—For General E[well's] corps are gone and those which are reported to be coming in their place have not yet crossed the river. After a good deal of anxious talking the Rector decided to make the attempt to get the boys to F[rederick] to-morrow. The plan at first was to send

T. Pitts and H[all] H[arrison] to Boonsboro to get a pass if one was necessary from Major Gilmore who is said to command a force now picketting G. Mountain. But it was thought best finally to take our chance without a pass. I am going with the Rector. The Lord prosper our undertaking.

H[enry] Holliday[28] was here today. I did not see him. Bowley also passed near us, though unable to come and see us. Others probably of whom we have not heard have been in our neighbourhood lately.

Wednesday, June 24, 1863

On Tuesday afternoon we were told that the Rebel army having passed into Pennsylvania, their pickets would be drawn in, by the next day, and then the way to Frederick would be clear. Moreover it was said that the road would soon be closed again for Lee's whole army were about to cross into Maryland at Shepherdstown. Now was our chance to get our students to their homes.

We debated anxiously whether we ought to go without a pass, the risks of being turned back, whether the Rebel authorities would exact a parole of those who left their lines—and whether the Union Commander if such there should be at F[rederick] would require every one coming into his lines to take the oath of allegiance. At last we decided to go without a pass and to submit with good grace if we were turned back.

Lynch who had come out to know our plans was told to be out at the College by 5 A.M. and to say nothing of our movements in town. The students who had been standing in a throng not far off from the C[lagett] H[all] steps where our consultations had been held were then informed by Dr. K[erfoot] of the plan, and those of them who were to go were directed each to pack one trunk with their clothing—to put their books and other small effects which they could not carry with them in boxes and bundles and take these last to the Irving Hall where they would be kept as safely as we could provide. At tea other directions were added as to the carrying of letters, as to the talking, etc.

The evening was a busy one with the boys—an anxious one with us who were to go with them to F[rederick]. We were anxious not on account of any personal dangers but because we felt the responsibility of the care of them when the war was at our very doors and it was uncertain what perils or strange situations would befall us too great a charge too great a tax on all one's energies. To get them to their parents was a paramount obligation—and to do so

[28] Henry Holliday of Queen Anne County, Maryland, attended the College in the late 1840's. *St. James Register 1848-49,* pp. 5-8.

without bringing them into any peril or compromising position was equally our duty. Hence our anxiety.

I went to bed about midnight—the waking bell was to ring at 3 A.M. and breakfast to follow in half an hour after. I slept until nearly four hearing no bells, and was then aroused by a messenger for the Rector. I dressed rapidly, went and got my breakfast, and by 4 45 was ready to start.

About 5 we heard very distinctly the music of a military band not far off and our hearts began to fail for we thought that the road is again held by guards. A boy who had been sent to town the evening before had come back without getting very far on the turnpike reporting that Longstreet's corps was moving along between Sharpsburgh and H[agerstown]. This story and the music and the fact that five passed and 6 came on and no omnibuses made their appearance drew the boys faces very long and made us doubtful of our even starting. But at last the welcome sound of the approaching vehicles was heard and by 6.30 we were under way—our party consisted of 20 boys, Dr. K[erfoot] and myself and a Mr. Spencer of Baltimore. Two omnibuses carried us—one driven by Lynch—one by a man named Knode.

We started on the road leading from the College to Claggett's Mill and the F[rederick] road—but before we had gone any distance Dr. K[erfoot] bade L[ynch] turn in to the S[harpsburg] turnpike when he reached it, follow it to the Cross Roads, and then take the B[oonsboro] road. It was very fortunate that his course was adopted. For the F[rederick] pike had pickets on it within a mile of B[oonsboro] who refused permission to go through unless a pass was presented.

We went along at a good pace and spirits until we reached a camp not far from the cross roads. After passing it without challenge we hoped we should meet no interruption, but a little beyond it we met a line of pickets—4 horsemen, one of whom riding forward told us we could not pass without an order from General E[well]. Dr. K[erfoot] Mr. S[pencer] and myself got out, and asked where their officer was. Happily he was not far off—and the Dr. and S[pencer] went to see him while I staid with the omnibuses.

The men were civil though rough-looking. One of them asked whether there were any Yanks about. They were eating their breakfast while sitting on their horses—a dirty looking mess of bread and meat. At length Dr. K[erfoot] and Mr. S[pencer] returned accompanied by an orderly who bade the pickets let us pass.

. . . .We got to the Junction in ample time for the train to Balti-

more. We left F[rederick] on our return to the College at 3.30 P.M. and reached home safely about 11. at night. . . .

Thursday, June 25, 1863

I was very tired all day. I sent in one of the [Baltimore] Am[ericans] I got in F[rederick] to Mrs. K[ennedy] today. Lee's army has been passing all day along the F[rederick] and S[harpsburg] pikes towards Pennsylvania.

We have resolved to go on with our College work if possible until the 9th of A[ugust]. Our students are of course only those from this county some 12 in number: C. Pitts, C. Harrison, and Geo. Miller, who are still here will leave as soon as they are well. We have one senior, 2 Juniors, 2 sophomores, 2 Freshmen, 5 1st Preparatory. This is our establishment. We shall probably loose our Senior and Juniors, as they are very loath to stay. Indeed Mr. Schley who was out in the morning had great difficulty in persuading his son to remain.

Ozmun Latrobe, Dr. Cullen (Mrs. B[reathed]'s brother) and 2 other confederate officers were here for a few moments. E. Thomas spent a couple of hours at the College yesterday while we were absent. Aisquith, Jr. was also here at the same time, Hooker is reported to have crossed into F[rederick] Co[unty] on Wednesday.[29]

Friday, June 26, 1863

We began our work today again. We have altered the daily routine so as to throw all recitations into the Morning. We get up an hour later and have chapel at 9. It is very hard to go on teaching. The events of the hour are so absorbing and exciting—and the future of the College seems to be so hopeless.

A. P. Hill's corps have been marching all day on the S[harpsburg] pike. The boys while watching them were accosted by a General Heth, who told them he had been a pupil of Dr. K[erfoot]'s at Flushing [Institute] years ago.[30]

Mrs. C. and Mrs. G. drove out in the afternoon, . . . Lynch who brought the ladies told us he had been paroled before leaving F[rederick] by our troops. General Lee passed through H[agerstown]

[29] Ozmun Latrobe, a graduate of the College, was a member of Longstreet's staff. He was brother of Ferdinand C. Latrobe, long-time mayor of Baltimore, also a graduate of the College. *Baltimore, Its History and Its People*, II, 397; John Thomas Scharf, *History of Western Maryland* . . . (2 vols.: Philadelphia, 1882), II, 1239.

[30] This was the capable, charming, but unlucky Maj. Gen. Henry Heth (1825-1899), Lee's favorite officer and the only one he called by his first name. Heth was commanding part of Gen. A. P. Hill's III Corps, and would be the first to come into contact with Union troops at Gettsyburg. Freeman, *Lee's Lieutenants*, II, 506-508.

this morning. Lynch said he was sent for by Lee to give him information as to roads in Pennsylvania—but he declined because of his parole.

Saturday, June 27, 1863

Longstreet's corps have been crossing at Williamsport today—and passing through Hagerstown on the way to Pennsylvania. The whole number of the confederate army is put at 90,000 men. Mr. B[reathed] who was in town today with his wife brings out a story that Stuart had captured 2000 prisoners and 600 wagons from Hooker during the last few days. It has rained nearly all day. According to all accounts the Rebels are better equipped than ever before—and full of confidence.

Sunday, June 28, 1863

Rode to St. Mark's with Mr. and Mrs. B[reathed]—a small congregation present—preached Matthew 4. and 1st . . . administered the communion. . . . Dr. W[ilson] was there and had brought a Friday's American for his sister. He had also a Saturday Am[erican] which he could not loan. Read both and brought away the Friday paper. Little or no news in either. Hooker's army is at Frederick and our scouts W[ilson] said have been in B[oonsboro] today.

F. Schley[31] went into town on an errand this evening and while there a dash was made by the Union Cavalry. The party was small, but they were greeted most warmly, took several prisoners and paroled the sick.

I dined at Mr. B[reathed]'s today. He is much excited and violent at present.

Monday, June 29, 1863

Many rumours but no authentic news. It has rained heavily all day, and such weather of course hinders the confederates. Our classes are going on after a fashion but it is impossible for me to do any profitable reading or study.

C. Pitts who leaves tomorrow came to see me about 6 P.M. I had a most pleasant talk with him, perhaps, probably, the last I shall ever have with him. That the College cannot prosper until the war is over seems more and more likely. *Our* work here is done.

Walton Hughes is here spending the night. He tells me that the Confederate officers say that the direction of our Army is much better than theirs—though they think their men fight better.

Tuesday, June 30, 1863

Raining all day—no tidings of any sort. Our cavalry are said to

[31] Frederick Buchanan Schley of Hagerstown, later a prominent judge and lawyer there. Williams, *History of Washington County*, II, 788-89.

dash into H[agerstown] every day. The confederates keep to the Williamsport and Greencastle road.

C. P[itts] left this morning, he takes a letter from me, for home. Communication just now with Frederick is possible—and so we hope to get the papers today or tomorrow. Our's is an anxious life at present. The fate of the country, of the College, of our own personal property, our own future, all are uncertain.

Dominus nostra illuminati.

Mr. B[reathed] tells us that he has been told by a man from F[rederick] that Hooker has been removed and McC[lellan] reappointed. This man heard the troops cheering as he left F[rederick]. The change was made Sunday. A day or two will tell us the truth.

Wednesday, July 1, 1863

The rain has ceased. Went to town this afternoon with Mr. F[alk]. On the way in met Mrs. K[ennedy], Mrs. G. and Mr. E[dwards] driving out to the College. While in town saw a dash made by confederate cavalry. I was standing on Mr. E[dwards]'s steps at the time talking with Mrs. E[dwards]. A party of 5 among whom was Joseph Brown who bowed to me as he passed rode by at full speed with pistols or carbines in position. They were followed in a few minutes by about thirty others who rode slowly to the C[ourt] House. A little boy stood at the corner waving a U.S. Flag while the confederates were there. After a half hour's stay during which they did nothing, the party went out by the Clearspring road. Took tea with Mrs. C. and came out about 9 P.M.

In town got a paper in which is the good news that Hooker has been removed. A General Meade is put in his place. It is hard to say anything about this last appointment so little is known of the man. Everyone desires McClellan. One can but pray that Meade may prove equal to the position he has taken. . . .

* * * *

General Meade, of course, proved more than equal to the position. The Southern forces were decisively defeated at Gettysburg in the following days, and on July 4 Lee began his retreat to Virginia.[32] The Union victory, however, brought little but more disorder to the College of St. James. "I am not without anxiety," Bishop Whittingham wrote Kerfoot on July 6, "lest your danger from the vagabond mob of a beaten army

[32] For a good short account of the battle of Gettsyburg, see J. G. Randall and David Donald, *The Civil War and Reconstruction* (Boston, 1961), pp. 401-405.

be greater that it has yet been while that army was under discipline and . . . kept in comparative restraint."[33] The bishop was almost prescient, for the College was sacked several times by the retreating Confederate troops.

In spite of these blows Kerfoot, with the help of Coit and Falk, managed to operate the College until the following summer, when it received its *coup d' grace*. In August of 1864 Kerfoot and Coit were arrested by General Jubal Early in reprisal for the Union's arrest of the Rev. Hunter Boyd, a Virginia clerygman. Although both were eventually released, it proved impossible to keep the College open during their absence, and it was regretfully closed and abandoned.[34]

Kerfoot went on to become, briefly, president of Trinity College in Hartford, Connecticut, and in 1865 was elected the first Episcopalian Bishop of Pittsburgh, where he enjoyed a long and distinguished career. Joseph Coit, accompanied by Hall Harrison, made his way to St. Paul's School in Concord, New Hampshire, where in 1895 he succeeded his older brother, Henry, as the school's second Rector.

Though the College of St. James expired amidst the confusions of the Civil War, it left a rich legacy.[35] Not only had it educated a whole generation of Southern leaders, but it was also its example that had inspired George C. Shattuck, a Boston physician, to establish in 1855 St. Paul's in Concord. St. Paul's in turn became one of the major models for the host of Episcopalian and non-denominational private preparatory schools founded in the United States in the last decades of the nineteenth century. When St. James closed, Bishop Whittingham expressed the hope that the Coit brothers and Harrison would, somehow, maintain and strengthen the traditions of the College. His hope was met in far larger measure than he could ever have foreseen.[36]

[33] Harrison, *Life of Bishop Kerfoot*, I, 267.
[34] *Ibid.*, I, 270-301.
[35] In 1869 Henry Onderdonk (1822-1895), member of a prominent Episcopalian family, leased the deteriorating buildings of the College from the trustees, made extensive repairs, and reopened it as a secondary school for boys. The present St. James School is therefore (like Lawrenceville School in New Jersey or Deerfield Academy in Massachusetts) an essentially new institution built on a moribund foundation. Williams, *History of Washington County*, II, 1286-87; Scharf, *History of Western Maryland*, II, 1240, 1241-42.
[36] Harrison, *Life of Bishop Kerfoot*, I, 48; II, 383.

THE CAUTIOUS REVOLUTION: MARYLAND AND THE MOVEMENT TOWARD INDEPENDENCE: 1774-1776

By Herbert E. Klingelhofer

I

Not until the passage of the Boston Port Bill in 1774 was a statewide organization created for the purpose of giving voice to the feelings of Marylanders concerning the actions of the English Parliament and of deliberating on some definite plan, in concert with other colonies, for coming to the assistance of the Bostonians. The action was started by Samuel Adams' appeal to the merchants of Baltimore, addressed to William Lux, of May 13, 1774 and was immediately taken up by communities all over the colony.[1] A provincial convention met in June and decided to co-operate with the other colonies in opposing British oppressive acts. It sent delegates to the Continental Congress.[2]

The proprietor at this time was a minor, the illegitimate son of the last Lord Baltimore, and the people of Maryland felt little affection for him. It is surprising that his nominal rule lasted as long as it did. Two reasons account for this: the caliber and type of men composing the "Provisional Government" and the likable and conciliatory personality of Governor Robert Eden who during these last few years went out of his way to be inoffensive. Throughout this period he continued to preside at council meetings, whereas the last session of the Assembly had closed on April 19, 1774. It had been prorogued until July 11, but it was never to meet again, and no more laws were passed under the proprietary government.

Eden was absent from Maryland, on a trip to England, from

[1] Robert Purviance, *A Narrative of Events which Occurred in Baltimore Town During the Revolutionary War* (Baltimore, 1849), pp. 109, 112, 140, 142.

[2] *Proceedings of the Conventions of Maryland Province, Held at the City of Annapolis, in 1774, 1775, and 1776* (Baltimore, 1836), pp. 3, 7.

May to September 1774. This afforded the Convention of the Freemen of Maryland easy sailing. Actually they constituted an illegal assembly. Their decisions were without force of law. But they were the only representative assembly in the province at the time.[3] As their power increased that of the governor waned.

Following a suggestion by the Continental Congress, county committees were elected, and in November 1774 at a second convention a provincial militia was established.[4] This was the second step taken by the Provisional Government to exert their power, as military appointments were one of the governor's privileges. Eden silently acquiesced. Without forces at his disposal he was powerless to prevent the formation of the militia in any case, and since he believed in mild and conciliatory ways rather than violent rupture, putting an end to all royalist influence, as in Virginia, he had the good grace to ignore what he could not prevent. His policy was so eminently successful that a greater degree of moderation predominated in Maryland than anywhere else.[5]

Now that the convention had come to a close, the county committees took over. An observer will note that at this stage of the revolutionary movement the three tiers of its organs—the national gathering at Philadelphia, the provincial convention at Annapolis, and the county organizations—were mutually advising, encouraging, and assisting each other. There was a flow of ideas in both directions, and that the same views generally prevailed in all three groups was in a large measure because of the fact that the same men were members of all three. They traveled from one to the other and had their say at the three levels. Of the men chosen by the people for their county committees the more capable and prominent were, as a rule, elected deputies to the provincial convention. Of these again some were appointed delegates to the Congress. So it occurred that—to give an example—Matthew Tilghman, the chairman of the Talbot Committee of Observation, was also president of the Maryland Convention and delegate to the Congress.

[3] John Archer Silver, *The Provisional Government of Maryland (1774-1777)* (Baltimore, 1895), p. 9.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 11. *Proceedings of the Conventions*, p. 8.
[5] William Eddis, *Letters from America (1769-1777)* (London, 1792), p. 200.

The revolutionary movement in Maryland was organized and sustained by a few men only. These were a group of planters, merchants, and lawyers, "men of means and well established social and political positions within the province."[6] But even among the leaders there was at this time little thought of separation from England. The powers of the governor were growing somewhat unreal, and his was to become more and more of a shadow government as the months slipped by. He was wise enough to know that asserting his authority would lead nowhere. As he wrote to Lord Dartmouth, "it has ever been my endeavor, by the most soothing measures I could safely use and yielding to the storm when I could not resist it, to preserve some hold of the helm of government that I might steer, as long as should be possible, clear of those shoals which all here must, sooner or later, I fear, get shipwrecked upon."[7] He hoped to the end for a reconciliation. It must be admitted that the members of the conventions themselves were hoping for the same and were loath, to the very last moment, to break the remaining slim connection.

It was felt, during the third Convention, in April 1775, that a Council of Safety should be appointed to act as an executive committee between the sessions of the Convention. Its functions were gradually expanded to include all executive, military, judicial, and to a certain extent also legislative powers. As the same members were usually reelected, the temptation to exercise despotic authority was great, but the Council of Safety acted with restraint and tact throughout the trying and turbulent times. No doubt this was possible because of the type of men chosen. The seven delegates sent to the Congress were likewise able and outstanding men: Samuel Chase,[8] Robert

[6] Philip A. Crowl, *Maryland During and After the Revolution, a Political and Economic Study* (Baltimore, 1943), p. 19.

[7] Bernard C. Steiner, *Life and Administration of Sir Robert Eden* (Baltimore, 1898), p. 94.

[8] *The Works of John Adams*, ed. Charles Francis Adams (Boston, 1850-56), II, 382, 393, 395, 421; III, 21. John Sanderson, *Biography of the Signers to the Declaration of Independence* (Philadelphia, 1846), p. 508. For recent studies of Samuel Chase see *Md. Hist. Mag.*, LVII, Francis F. Beirne, "Samuel Chase, 'Disturber'" (June 1962), 78-89; Neil Strawser, "Samuel Chase and the Annapolis Paper War" (Sept., 1962), 177-194. Letter from Benjamin Galloway to his father, March 15, 1775, Galloway-Maxcy-Markoe Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress. Undated fragment of manuscript in hand of Benjamin Rush, Library Company of Philadelphia, Ridgeway Branch. John H. Hazelton, *The Declaration of Independence, Its History* (New York, 1906), p. 97.

Goldsborough, John Hall, Thomas Johnson, Jr.,[9] William Paca,[10] Thomas Stone,[11] and Matthew Tilghman.[12]

In the Continental Congress, before much time slipped by, some delegates found that they had much in common with others. Groups began to form. Three distinct parties developed, without formal organization or designated leaders. The Conciliationists desired self government and autonomy within the frame of empire and favored peaceable means of resistance. The Militants favored independence as a positive good or regarded it as a means essential to victory. The Moderates, while stoutly defending American rights, disavowed independence and thought that vigorous offensive military actions would cause Britain to back down and give in to the demands of the Congress.[13]

The Moderates were the most numerous, and sometimes siding with the Militants or the Conciliationists, were the dominant element. The delegates from Maryland were Moderates all. Where Matthew Tilghman's sympathies lay is shown in a letter written by him in the winter of 1776: "I am forever revolving in my mind the contest between the mother country and her colonies and considering on which side probability rests, whether freedom or slavery is most likely to be our portion. . . I am ready to conclude we have a good chance for success . . . I revere the spirit of the northern people and am clearly of opinion they are right in their warm and unrelaxing opposition, and am ashamed to think that the southern colonies do not keep pace with them."[14]

[9] Oswald Tilghman, *History of Talbot County* (Baltimore, 1915), p. 432. John Adams, *Works*, II, 395, 506. Letter of Thomas Johnson, Jr., to Samuel Purviance, January 23, 1775, in possession of author. Purviance, *Narrative of Events*, p. 179. Letter of Charles Carroll of Carrollton to his father, July 6, 1775, Carroll Papers, IV, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore. *American Archives, Fourth Series*, ed. Peter Force (Washington, 1846), III, 157.

[10] Steiner, *Sir Robert Eden*, p. 61. Sanderson, *Signers*, p. 517. John Adams, *Works*, II, 395.

[11] Sanderson, *Signers*, pp. 523-24. J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1879), II, 235. Nannie McCormick Coleman, *The Constitution and Its Framers* (Chicago, 1910), p. 159.

[12] Crowl, *Maryland During and After the Revolution*, p. 22. Letter of Matthew Tilghman to his brother, Winter 1776, in private hands; photostats in possession of author. Oswald Tilghman, *Talbot County*, p. 431.

[13] Curtis P. Nettels, *George Washington and American Independence* (Boston, 1951), pp. 100, 101, 106, 111.

[14] Letter of Matthew Tilghman to his brother, Winter 1776.

Thomas Johnson, Jr., in January 1775 wrote that "it will be a great question whether we shall resolve to continue the present appearance of government which indeed is not strong enough to protect against violence and is only treated with respect from principle by those from whom violence need not be apprehended, and which must necessarily be a clog on our motions as long as it continues, or whether a real substantial active government coinciding with the views of America shall be established by consent. . . No man in the British Dominions more passionately wished for a reconciliation than myself, but if the terms are so hard as slavery to America, I have formed my resolution and am clear for employing every means of self defense. . . . I hear from Frederick County that small parties of unthinking men are forcing those to enroll who are principled against bearing arms. The people at large are not a body fit for deliberation. They are greatly carried away with a warmth of zeal that ever leaps sedate and wise policy. . . ."[15] It was Thomas Johnson who nominated George Washington for General of all the Continental Forces, and he also claimed to have prevented Charles Lee from being chosen second in command, because, he said, Lee was a disappointed foreigner and not to be trusted.

In August 1775, Johnson felt that he "and America in general may almost universally wish in the first place to establish our liberty; our second wish is a reunion with Great Britain, so we may preserve the entire empire and the constitutional liberty, founded in whiggish principles, handed down to us by our ancestors. In order to strengthen ourselves to accomplish these great ends, we ought in my opinion to conduct ourselves so as to unite America and divide Britain . . . If they [America's friends in England] should once be convinced by our conduct that we desire to break away, I am apprehensive they will henceforth become our most dangerous enemies . . .The cunning Scotchmen and Lord North fully feel the force of this reasoning, hence their industry to make it believed in England that we have a scheme of independence. . . . In the Declaratory Act is the power of binding us by its acts in all cases whatever;

[15] Letter of Thomas Johnson, Jr., to Samuel Purviance, January 23, 1775, in possession of author.

the latter we do most certainly dispute and I trust shall successfully fight against."[16]

Samuel Chase, more unpredictable than the others, was in favor of immediate non-importation of goods in September, 1774. On October 6, he held the position that Parliament had the right to make laws for America, in some cases where trade needed to be regulated and in all cases where the entire empire would benefit. On September 14, 1775, he again spoke against importation and exportation of goods, and on November 4th was ready for "revolutionizing" all provincial governments.[17] By this time he had swung to the side of the Militants in the Congress.

Thomas Stone wrote in April 1775, "How the contest will end, God only knows. I have determined to act according to the best of my judgment, rightly, but in the important and dangerous crisis to which we are reduced, the best may err."[18]

On October 6, 1775, a resolution was proposed in the Congress that each colony be instructed to seize and secure all enemies of the liberties of America. It was understood that the resolution was aimed particularly at Lord Dunmore, the deposed royal governor of Virginia, who was ravaging the shores of Chesapeake Bay with his fleet. Chase was against the resolution because Virginia, without a naval force, was unable to strike at the enemy, and the request in the resolution would amount only to a mere piece of paper. Thomas Johnson advised to leave it to Virginia to devise her own way of dealing with the situation. George Wythe thought that if Maryland wanted to share in the glory of capturing Dunmore, Virginia would gladly share that honor with her. Johnson replied to this that as far as he was concerned Virginia could have unrestricted permission to capture the governor, but he was opposed to the resolution for the reason that it dictated to Virginia the course she had to follow. Thomas Stone suggested that it might possibly be best to signify to Virginia that "it will not be disagreeable with us if they secure Lord Dunmore."[19]

[16] *American Archives,* III, 157.
[17] John Adams, *Works,* II, pp. 382, 393, 421; III, 21.
[18] Scharf, *History of Maryland,* II, 218.
[19] "Richard Smith's Diary," *American Historical Review,* I (January, 1895), p. 495.

These Marylanders were staunch defenders of individual liberty. They stood up against what they thought unnecessary orders and suggestions by the Congress and contributed not a little to debates. They served increasingly on various committees, and Johnson had just been chosen a member of the Secret Committee, when the delegates of Maryland were summoned home to attend the Convention, opening at Annapolis on December 7, 1775.

During this Convention there is a noticeable tendency for a certain group of men to set the tone of the proceedings. They were almost exclusively chosen for the more important committees. A few of them also served on the minor committees. Repeated choice of the same members by the body of the Convention can only mean that they were regarded as the most capable, especially as these seven or eight men were chosen from a crowd of over sixty. Most of them were to develop skillful and intelligent leadership in the days to come. Matthew Tilghman was again elected president and therefore did not serve on any committee. The others, in the order of number of major committees on which they sat, were: Thomas Johnson, Jr., James Tilghman, James Hollyday, Benjamin Rumsey, Gustavus Scott, and Charles Carroll, Barrister. In later conventions Rumsey and Scott fell back. Robert Goldsborough and George Plater—neither of them present at the December Convention—and William Paca took their places. Of increasing importance in provincial affairs were Charles Carroll of Carrollton and Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer, the latter not a member of the Convention.

Samuel Chase was not chosen to serve on any of the committees, although he was present during almost the entire session. It is hard to believe that this could have been accidental. He had taken a conspicuous part in all of the previous conventions. It is likely that either some of his radical utterances in Philadelphia or his rabble rousing tendencies offended the Convention. Two additional delegates to the Congress were elected —John Rogers and Robert Alexander[20]—and on January 12, instructions were sent to the delegates in Congress, based on the recommendations of a committee consisting of Hollyday, Car-

[20] *Proceedings of the Conventions,* p. 42.

roll the Barrister, James Tilghman, Scott, and Rumsey. These instructions, briefly, were to strive to obtain the redress of American grievances, to follow through any rational propositions for reconciliation offered by Parliament, and not to assent, without the approbation of the Convention, to any proposition to declare the colonies independent, yet to join with the other colonies in necessary military operations.[21]

The governor was supplied with a copy of these instructions and apparently was so much heartened by them that he not only sent them to England as a sign of good will on the part of the Maryland Convention but also approached Jenifer to whom he suggested inviting several influential members of the Convention. On January 16, an informal meeting took place between Governor Eden, Charles Carroll, Barrister, Jenifer, Matthew Tilghman, James Tilghman, Johnson, Hollyday, Stone, and John Hall. Eden persuaded the others to make one more attempt at reconciliation with the British government.[22]

The next day, as a result of this meeting, the Convention resolved unanimously that the people of Maryland were strongly attached to the English Constitution and warmly impressed with sentiments of affection for the King. At the same time, the Council of Safety was reorganized and reduced to seven men: Jenifer (its president), Charles Carroll, Barrister, John Hall, Benjamin Rumsey, James Tilghman, Thomas Smyth, Thomas B. Hands.[23] In May 1776, George Plater and William Hayward were added to their number. On January 18th the Convention adjourned, leaving the Council of Safety in charge until May.

II

"We haven't discussed independence these may months," declared one of the delegates to the Continental Congress. Yet this quenchless and provocative word which would not be silenced out of existence burned in the minds of the delegates. It presented itself on the floor of the Congress within a motion of James Wilson who tried, once and for all, to put an end to the

[21] *Ibid.*, p. 82.
[22] *American Archives*, IV, pp. 680, 813. *The Lee Papers Collections*, New York Historical Society (New York, 1872-75), IV, 276. Scharf, *History of Maryland*, II, 218.
[23] *Proceedings of the Conventions*, p. 118.

issue. On Tuesday, January 9, 1776, he moved and was "strongly supported that the Congress may expressly declare to their constituents and the world their present intentions respecting an independency, observing that the king's speech directly charged us with that design."[24] Samuel Adams became alarmed and with the help of friends managed to stave off an immediate vote.[25] The Militants were outnumbered, because in their opposition to separation from Great Britain Conciliationists and Moderates joined forces. On January 24th the issue came up again. The majority of Congress disclaimed the slightest thought of independence,[26] and Mr. Dickinson, Mr. Wilson, Mr. Hooper, Mr. Duane, and Mr. Alexander—all in favor of continued connection with Great Britain—were appointed to a committee which was to prepare an address on the subject.[27]

Robert Alexander, the newest delegate from Maryland, was much pleased with the instructions of the Maryland Convention to their deputies which arrived on January 30th. He showed them, in confidence, to Dickinson and assorted companions who thought quite highly of them.[28] He was not nearly so complacent and happy when, a few days later, Samuel Chase, the "Demosthenes of Maryland," returned to the Congress. That gentleman was now openly for independence and, after listening for an hour to a particularly vapid discussion, startled the Congress by bellowing out impassionedly, "By the God of Heaven, I owe no allegiance to the King of Great Britain. What American can hesitate in the choice between independence and slavery?" His advice was briefly this: "Don't harangue about becoming independent, act is if we were."[29]

Visitors to Congress noticed that the forces were by now almost evenly divided. New England and "the ancient Dominion hang very much together. They are what we call *violent,* and suspected of independency. All others except Delaware breathe reconciliation."[30] It was on the ninth of February that the set-

[24] *Richard Smith's Diary,* I, 306.
[25] John Adams, *Works,* IX, 372. S. V. Henkels, *Catalogue No. 1236,* item 42.
[26] *Richard Smith's Diary,* I, 495.
[27] *American Archives,* IV, 1653.
[28] *Ibid.,* IV, 887.
[29] William I. Hull, *Maryland, Independence, and the Confederation* (Baltimore, 1891), p. 25. Hazelton, *Declaration,* p. 69.
[30] Charles J. Stille, *Life and Times of John Dickinson* (Philadelphia, 1891), p. 173.

up changed entirely. Up to then, John Hancock and Robert Paine had co-operated with the moderate party, outnumbering Samuel Adams and casting the Massachusetts vote for moderation. But on that day John Adams and Elbridge Gerry (Cushing's successor) took their seats. From now on the Massachusetts delegation voted with the Militants, both the Adams cousins and Gerry being resolutely for independence, and John Hancock soon moved over into their camp. Georgia and Virginia steadily grew more favorably inclined.

And so the miracle came to pass that instead of the committee of January 24th presenting one of the most important and glorious state papers of all times and getting it endorsed forthwith by a sizable majority of the Congress as had been expected, James Wilson, on February 13, "brought in the draft of an address which was very long, badly written, and full against independency."[31] The delegates made faces, and when he came to the climax, "that the colonies may continue connected, as they have been, with Great Britain, is our second wish; our first is that America may be free," there was a ripple of applause. The committee members had liked this phrase, but Wilson had his ear to the ground. "He perceived the majority did not relish his address and never thought fit to stir it again."[32]

That was the point: the majority had changed in these four weeks, "mysteriously," "inexorably," and what had seemed easily obtainable in January could no longer be obtained at all. Three days later, George Wythe of Virginia proposed that the colonies had the right to contract alliances with foreign powers. This was objected to but ineffectually.[33] Upon another occasion, a certain minister's oration was denied the right of publication, as requested by a delegate, because it "had declared the sentiments of the Congress to continue in a dependency on Great Britain which doctrine this Congress cannot now approve."[34] Lord North's action, ordering all American vessels seized, further spurred the resistance to Great Britain.[35]

[31] *Richard Smith's Diary,* I, 501.

[32] *Journals of the Continental Congress,* ed. Worthington C. Ford and others (Washington, 1904-1937), IV, 143-146. Joseph S. Jones, *Defense of the Revolutionary History of the State of North Carolina from the Aspersions of Mr. Jefferson* (Boston, 1834), p. 320. *Richard Smith's Diary,* I, 501.

[33] *Ibid,* I, 502.

[34] *Writings of Samuel Adams,* ed. Harry Alonzo Cushing (New York, 1904-08), III, 266. *Richard Smith's Diary,* I, 504.

[35] *American Archives,* IV, 1507.

On February 29, when the delegates seriously discussed the possibility of independence, "it appeared that five or six colonies had instructed their delegates not to agree to an independency till they, the principals, were consulted."[36] The legislatures would not let their delegates vote for independence. In spite of all fiery pronouncements,[37] Congress would not accomplish anything on that issue at that time. A possible simple majority of delegates in favor of independence was not enough, *all* delegations had to vote for it. And while the Militants had co-operators and sympathizers in practically all delegations, these men as a rule did not exert controlling influence over their brethren nor over the provincial assemblies. There was also the dismal possibility that delegations counted safe would not remain reliable. Deputies could easily be recalled, and men of antagonistic convictions could be sent to replace them.[38] Carter Braxton of Virginia was one such delegate. His explanation of why he was against an immediate declaration of independence at the same time gave voice to the thoughts of some of the Maryland delegates. He spoke of it as a delusive bait which "was inconsiderately snatched at without knowing the hook to which it was attached." He enumerated the reasons which prompted him to believe that this was not the moment. He would wait for the terms offered by the awaited peace commissioners; America was too defenseless, having no fleet, no alliance. He admitted that the New England colonies did not mean to have a reconciliation, but as for him, he would first want to see a grand continental league formed, all disputes healed and harmony prevailing, before voting for an independent state with all its consequences.[39]

An opportunity to observe the Maryland delegates in action occurred when the Congress was discussing the question of sending out armed privateers. Chase gave notice that he "would recommend to all the colonies to fit out privateers." On March 13, he offered a set of propositions, and "Johnson spoke directly and clearly against the measure." On March 18, Maryland and

[36] *Richard Smith's Diary*, I, 507.
[37] John Adams, *Works*, "Debates." William S. Reed, *Life and Correspondence of Joseph Reed* (Philadelphia, 1847), p. 100. *North Carolina State Records* (Goldsboro, N.C., 1886), XI, 288.
[38] *American Archives*, V, 235.
[39] "Lee Transcripts," IV, Virginia Historical Society, Richmond. *American Archives*, IV, 391.

Pennsylvania voted against the privateers, and on March 22, Chase supported and Johnson opposed an amendment making the King "the author of our miseries." After a four hour debate, "Maryland interposed its veto and put it off until tomorrow." At that time, Alexander, Chase, Johnson, and Paca were in the Congress.* Paca could not have supported Chase here, otherwise the vote would have been evenly divided, and Maryland could not have exerted her veto.[40]

Unfortunately for the Militants, Chase was about to leave the Congress for several months, on a mission to Canada,[41] and Stone who came to take his place was a cautious fellow, not at all willing to stick out his neck. Charles Carroll of Carrollton had been in favor of independence long before there was any sentiment for it to amount to anything. Invited to go to Canada with Chase, Benjamin Franklin, and John Carroll, as emissary of Congress to persuade the unwilling Canadians to come over to the American side, he spent February and March as a spectator in Philadelphia, the shrewdest observer and commentator on the American scene.

Carroll commanded respect in Philadelphia, where the most flattering opinions on him were offered,[42] and at Annapolis, where he had created a sensation years before when he had taken on the renowned Daniel Dulaney. Still, he was admired with reservations. At an age where property was almost essential to any career in Maryland, political or other, it was not Carroll's great wealth which was the barrier to immediate popular success, but it was his certain aloofness, his reputation as a bookworm, and there was also the difference in religion. Annapolis looked askance at Catholicism. Under the law, Catholics were ineligible to any political positions. This had the obvious consequence of making them hanker for a change of status and not be as nostalgically devoted to the present form of government as others might have the tendency to be.

In Baltimore, a new and vigorous commercial town, it was the merchants who were champing at the bit. Their aggressiveness

* Consult Table I.

[40] *Richard Smith's Diary*, I, pp. 501, 510, 514.

[41] *Warren-Adams Letters*, Collections, Massachusetts Historical Society (Boston, 1917), I, 206. Letter of Charles Carroll of Carrollton to his Father, March 18, 1776, Carroll Papers, IV.

[42] *Warren-Adams Letters*, p. 206.

had brought them great personal and financial success, what wonder that the gentlemen were shouting for action now on a different front. They had been the first who were approached by the Bostonians, in 1774. It had been they who had called the first town meetings, the first county meetings, the first provincial convention.

The Baltimore Committee of Observation was composed of these enterprising patriots. Among them were Samuel Purviance and John Smith, both Irish born, the brothers William and George Lux, William Smith, Isaac van Bibber—who used choice epithets but was as effective as any in driving power—the physician Dr. John Boyd, John Moale—perhaps the wealthiest of the lot—and "General" Andrew Buchanan, the lieutenant of the county, always present with his militia wherever military services might be required.[43]

The chairman of the committee, Samuel Purviance, was an efficient leader and a man of considerable ardor with a tendency, however, to be somewhat impulsive and rash. Already in January the newly elected Council of Safety in Annapolis had occasion to be astonished by his impetuosity and somewhat dismayed by it. The truth was that the Council was moving much too slowly to suit him, and he thought it a delightful diversion as well as a necessity to poke them whenever a suitable occasion presented itself. When neither the Convention at Annapolis nor the Council of Safety had decided to take action on one of his suggestions, he turned to the Maryland delegates in Philadelphia with the matter, who in turn wrote to Annapolis for instructions.[44] Tactics like this were not likely to endear Purviance to the Council, no matter how noble his intentions.

When, in March, a British sloop of war approached Baltimore, the defense of the harbor was promptly and effectively undertaken, in co-operation, by the Council of Safety and the Baltimore Committee, principally through the efforts of Purviance and Charles Carroll, Barrister.[45]

In spite of harmony during times of emergency, the groups

[43] Purviance, *Narrative of Events*, pp. 30 ff.
[44] *American Archives*, IV, pp. 912 and 956.
[45] Letter of Samuel Purviance to the Maryland Council of Safety, Purviance Papers, Md. Hist. Soc.

eyed each other with a certain suspicion. The Baltimore leaders freely corresponded with the more venturesome men in Philadelphia and in the army, such as Richard Henry Lee[46] and General Charles Lee,[47] putting into glowing terms their own ideas and deeds and deprecating those of the Council of Safety. Shortly thereafter, General Lee stayed at Purviance's house on his way through Baltimore to his new command in Virginia. Both being temerarious and quite loquacious, these two firebrands made no bones about what each thought should or should not be done, and inevitably complained about those who kept blocking their way, moved too slowly to suit them, and were "thwarting liberty" in one way or other. Both favored immediate action, believing that the cause of freedom and independence could be promoted in that fashion alone. Lee was impatient with the Congress, and Purviance complained about the Council of Safety, whose timidity, as he saw it, proved a harsh curb on every action.

It was at this time that an event occurred in Maryland which brought into the open and brightly illuminated the differences between the various governing bodies within the colony. Some letters from England which Lord Dunmore had attempted to forward to Governor Eden, were intercepted and delivered to the authorities at Williamsburg, Virginia. Lord Germain wrote to Eden that the King was much satisfied with him and the useful and confidential information about certain Marylanders which he had conveyed. He went on to say that a British Fleet was ready to sail for North Carolina and would possibly enter Chesapeake Bay in which case it was expected that Eden would co-operate with Dunmore in rendering all possible assistance to the British Forces.[48]

It happened that General Charles Lee had just arrived at his new assignment in Williamsburg the previous day. He was as impatient as ever and in a mood of frustration,[49] when the letters were handed to him. He pounced on them with glee. Here was something that prompted immediate action. Lord Dunmore was unassailable in his fleet, but Eden could easily be

[46] *Ibid.*
[47] *The Lee Papers*, I, 239.
[48] *American Archives*, V, 1516.
[49] *Ibid.*, V, 792-93.

taken prisoner. These letters seemed sufficient proof of his treachery. Eden's arrest, Lee hoped, would spark the Council of Safety and the Convention into action towards independence. He had just been told in Baltimore by Purviance about the "timidity" of the Council. Lee feared that they would do nothing if he asked them to arrest the governor. The only person in Maryland who he knew would not hesitate to act decisively was his new acquaintance, Samuel Purviance. So he asked him to direct the officer of the troops at Annapolis to arrest Eden immediately, in his (Lee's) name—if his name were "of consequence enough."[50]

The same day the Virginia Committee sent Purviance copies of the intercepted letters with the request to forward them to the Continental Congress in Philadelphia and the next day sent other copies to the Council of Safety at Annapolis. The Baltimore Committee received the information first, in the evening of April 14. Purviance as chairman opened the package and read the contents to the Committee who resolved to have the news sent on to Philadelphia by an officer of the militia. They also decided to send three of their members to Annapolis early the next morning to lay copies of the letters before the Council of Safety, "lest their packet might not contain the same intelligence."[51]

Samuel Purviance had received General Lee's letter, addressed to him personally, at the same time. He later claimed that he showed it to the Committee, but it is possible that he did not, as no mention is made of any discussion or action on Lee's appeal to seize the governor. He was, however, extremely busy that evening, writing an indiscrete letter to John Hancock, which the officer was to deliver, with or without the Committee's knowledge, with the other letters, and later, when the Committee had risen, meeting Captain Samuel Smith, a young officer of Smallwood's brigade, whom he persuaded to go to Annapolis and arrest Eden. Smith saw in this plan of kidnapping the governor of the province a chance to sudden fame and readily agreed.[52] Major Mordecai Gist endorsed the directions empowering Smith to take along as many men as he might

[50] *Ibid.*, V, 800.
[51] *Ibid.*, V, 810, 1516.
[52] Anne Sioussat, *Old Baltimore* (New York, 1932), p. 84.

think necessary. Captain Nicholson, in command of the "Defence" in Baltimore harbor, was now approached. He ordered Lieutenant Nicholson to take the militiamen to Annapolis in the Defence's tender.

Purviance's claim that he gave these orders with the understanding and approval of the full committee[53] was vigorously denied by the other members. He must have acted on his own entirely, after General Lee's passionate plea had roused him to rapid action. Believing that the Council of Safety would not arrest the governor and finding the Baltimore Committee loath to take the responsibility, he decided to take a chance on securing him by proceeding directly. He was in such a hurry to get the men off that he did not bother about such niceties as a warrant. According to one account the delegation from Baltimore and the Council of Safety together prevented Smith from molesting the governor who in turn had made no attempt to leave town.[54] Another story has it that Smith came very close to capturing Governor Eden who barely had time to slip away while the soldiers were searching the premises.[55] At any rate, General Lee's grand plan came to naught.

Eden's character was well known to men on the Council, and they were convinced that he would not attempt to flee. They delegated two of their members, Carroll and Hall—and asked William Paca, who was in town, to go with them—to request an audience with the governor for the purpose of taking a look at the copy of Eden's letter to Lord Germain—the one which had pleased King George so much. Eden told them that all his papers of consequence, including the copy of the letter, had been sent away, but that he had not mentioned anything unfriendly "to the peace of the province" and had spoken well of some Marylanders, "recommended others as sufferers, and spoken of the gentlemen of Congress as acting in the line of moderation."[56] He showed his visitors some letters from England in which Eden was described as a "moderate man, wishing well and kindly to both parties." Requested to give his word of honor not to make any attempt to leave Maryland until the

[53] *American Archives,* V, 930.
[54] *Ibid.,* V, 1065.
[55] Sioussat, *Old Baltimore,* p. 84.
[56] *American Archives,* V, 1560.

Convention were to meet, he at first declined. The Council of Safety now sent him a very courteous letter, showing full understanding of Eden's difficult position, whereupon he voluntarily gave his parole not to leave.[57] That ended the matter and no further attempts were made to arrest the governor or to cause him "grief or annoyance." The Council as well as the men of the Convention were convinced that Eden was harmless and that for the time being his continuation in office constituted no danger to the revolutionary bodies.

The Council of Safety had, however, a grievance to settle. They were by now thoroughly annoyed with General Lee's and Purviance's meddling, and they complained to the delegates in Congress about the insult in their passing them by. In the meantime, Congress had received the copy of the intercepted letters, and after reading them aloud, John Hancock inadvertently continued on with Purviance's letter to him, which had been intended for his eye alone. The Maryland delegates naturally reported this back to Annapolis, together with Purviance's unflattering remarks about the Council of Safety whom he called timorous and inactive. The Maryland delegates were decidedly on the Council's side and endeavored to secure the letter or a copy of it, but Hancock refused them.[58]

Having been requested by the Congress to arrest Eden, the Council declined to do so, with a sensible, dignified, and truthful explanation of their stand. In this letter and more particularly in their letter to the Maryland delegates they stated very bluntly that they trusted Eden and considered taking any security measures against him as unnecessary, unkind, and ignoble. They regarded the governor as the head of the province and feared that, if he were removed or laid under arrest, the "government would be shaken to its very foundations and in what form it would be settled again, we know not."[59]

Powerless as the governor had become, he still possessed a stature in Maryland that was real. Eden undoubtedly happened to be the right man in the governor's seat, and the Marylanders could not have wished for a more suitable agent for King George, but beyond their respect for the man there was the respect for the of-

[57] *Ibid.*, V, pp. 961, 963, 1562.
[58] *Ibid.*, V, pp. 960, 965, 971, 1679. Purviance, *Narrative of Events*, p. 195.
[59] *American Archives*, V, pp. 970, 983, 1009.

fice he filled. It was not so much an attachment to the crown, or to England, but to the whole stable though small portion of the changing provincial authority which represented the gracious but now vanished past. They were reluctant to throw away entirely the supports which had in earlier days spelled physical and moral protection.

Other provinces might cast off their crutches and attempt to walk without them, but Maryland, while realizing that the time was at hand to do likewise, hesitated to take the last fateful step. One did not know what the future might bring. The people and their representatives did not wish to take their liberty straight. They still preferred a certain admixture of security and order, and this is what the established forms of government represented. That it was not fear of financial reverses that made these people hesitate to give up their last connection with the ancient government is shown by the manner in which they later, after the step, were to shrug off all reminders that they were taking great risks.

Clearly discernible is the pride which exhibited hurt astonishment at the offhand manner in which Congress had sought to intervene and dictate. The Council of Safety was not a congressional committee subservient to the Congress. They were not accustomed to receiving directions from anyone except the Convention whose orders they had faithfully executed. They knew the limitations which the Convention had imposed on the Council's functions, and they were ever careful not to transgress them. They truly considered themselves the servants and to some extent the substitutes and deputies of the people's representatives and, by extension, of the people themselves, aristocrats though they were. Congress was largely ignorant of these things. They were too busy with their own problems. The distorted picture they had of the state of affairs in Maryland they interpreted in various ways. To the advocates of immediate independence it meant that Maryland, more even than the other colonies, was a roadblock on the path to freedom, a deadweight holding back the balloon of liberty. They did not all think so. John Adams, while impatient with Maryland, did realize that it was not perverseness and obstinacy and criminal folly that made Maryland hesitate. But Richard Henry Lee did not give them the benefit of a doubt: "We

hesitate in Congress, because we are heavily clogged with instructions from these shamefully interested proprietary people." [60]

Congress did not insist on their demands, and the Maryland delegates approved of the Council's conduct.[61] Thomas Stone made known his own thoughts: "If the (British) commissioners do not arrive shortly and conduct themselves with great candor and uprightness to effect a reconciliation, a separation will most undoubtedly take place, and all the governors and officers must quit their posts, and new men must be placed in the saddle of power. I wish to conduct affairs so that a just and honorable reconciliation should take place, or that we should be pretty unanimous in a resolution to fight it out for independence. The proper way to effect this is not to move too quick. But then we must take care to do everything which is necessary for our security and defence, not suffer ourselves to be bullied or wheedled by any deceptions, declarations, or givings out. You know my heart wishes for peace, upon terms of security and justice to America. But war, anything, is preferable to a surrender of our rights."[62]

In Baltimore, the Committee of Observation had gotten wind of Mr. Purviance's rash act and his arrogating to himself the right of others, and they raked him over the coals.[63] He filled his long and rambling excuse with doubts and extenuations: saying that he had considered Lee's letter as "sufficient reason . . .," "it seemed the general opinion of the committee . . .," "I had not thought of the propriety of orders . . .," "I had no opportunity of consulting . . .," "in these circumstances I wrote, without the concurrence or advice of any person . . .," "I had my own doubts whether . . .," and "the extreme importance of the occasion will at least palliate my offence in taking what may be deemed by some a very rash step."[64] The Committee, caught in an awkward angle as it actually thought very highly of its tempestuous chairman, had no choice but to disapprove highly of the chairman's conduct,

[60] Richard Henry Lee, *Letters*, ed. James Curtis Balagh (New York, 1912), p. 187.
[61] *American Archives*, V, pp. 1036, 1685.
[62] *Ibid.*, V, 1047.
[63] *Ibid.*, V, 1519.
[64] *Ibid.*, V, 1520.

"totally disavowed the instructions given to Captain Smith," but thought that the "well meant excess" would find a more easy pardon than if he had been chargeable with a "criminal neglect or a timidity still more dangerous."[65]

This bit of sweetening was intended for the ear of the Maryland Council who, determined to get to the bottom of the Lee-Purviance venture, were ordering Purviance and George and William Lux to Annapolis. The three gentlemen, after a short postponement, appeared before the Council on April 24. Purviance, in a truculent mood, put up a good defence of himself, slipped past some questions phrased not sufficiently carefully, but could not avoid admitting, in a round about way, that he had written letters somewhat unflattering to the Council of Safety. The Council thought that he "prevaricated abominably."[66] Captain Nicholson, also appearing before the Council, was told that General Lee had no authority in Maryland, that Mr. Purviance had exceeded his power in giving directions, and that the Council thought it wise if he, Captain Nicholson, were more on guard in the future.

The Council, always careful not to overstep their bounds, now decided that they had better call a meeting of the Convention, in order to receive an approbation of their handling of the Eden affair and for the Convention to carry on from there. They asked the delegates in Philadelphia to attend. They in turn were willing to come but suggested that John Rogers return to the Congress so that Maryland would not be unrepresented there. Rogers agreed to go to Philadelphia,[67] but before he had left, Mr. Jenifer was on his way to that city himself. He meant to have a private talk with the delegates (Matthew Tilghman, Johnson, Goldsborough, Stone, and Alexander). These men were at the same time leading members of the Convention, and he wanted to consult with them about the "principal points to be discussed in Convention," and to see whether the policies of Council and Convention were not identical, though actually he need not have had any qualms about this. They soon agreed on how to handle the questions of Governor Eden and representation. Jenifer also met delegates of other

[65] *Ibid.*, V, 1521.
[66] *Ibid.*, V, 1002, 1036, 1060, 1065.
[67] *Ibid.*, V, 1067, 1090, 1110.

colonies and had a sharp encounter with Richard Henry Lee and his brother Francis who hotly defended General Lee, denying that the general had directed Eden to be seized. Jenifer maintained his composure, keeping his ace in reserve—the copy of the general's letter—but he thought that R. H. Lee had the impudence and assurance of the devil![68] At the same time Lee was hastily penning a letter to Purviance with some general advice on how to answer questions when before the Convention.

General Charles Lee himself was far from unaware of the consequences his hasty letter had brought about and had complained to Washington, Hancock, and others about being unjustly accused. Apparently as a result of pressure brought on him—by Benjamin Harrison, among others—he now offered an explanation of his conduct and a truculent apology to the Maryland Council.[69]

Meanwhile the Convention in Annapolis was underway, had appointed a committee to consider the Purviance matter, and delivered a verbal spanking to Purviance and—without naming him specifically—General Lee.[70] The Convention quite clearly used this resolution as a vehicle for voicing explicitly their opinions on a variety of subjects, such as outside interference, transgressing one's authority, and inquiries and investigations into the behavior of public officials.

The Convention now considered what to do about Governor Eden. The Committee of the Whole which was studying the Eden correspondence met on May 14th and during the ten following days sat several times. That the question of what to do about Eden was foremost in everybody's mind is evident. It even dominated part of the correspondence between members of the Convention and the delegates remaining in Philadelphia. The Convention had first sent a delegation to sound him out on whether he would promise not to have any further contact with the enemy, or whether he would prefer to leave Maryland. Eden answered that, as it would be inconsistent with the duties of his station as governor to continue his residence at Annapolis on the terms proposed, he intended, as soon as an

[68] *Ibid.*, V, 1146.
[69] *Ibid.*, V, 1220, 1223; VI, 405.
[70] *Ibid.*, V, 1580, 1581, 1587, 1591.

opportunity should offer, to leave the province and return to England. His preferring to leave made it easier for the Convention to come to a decision, which was, that he should be officially requested to leave.[71]

The phrase used, whenever the Committee of the Whole had "taken into consideration the intercepted letters to Governor Eden and spent some time therein," is: "not being able to go through the same, they moved for leave to sit again." This leads one to suspect that the sessions were long and stormy ones and the votes taken far from unanimous. After the resolutions were passed by the Convention, and the official vote taken on Eden's expulsion, the vote of the individuals was still 36 to 19, implying that in Committee the voting was likely to have been considerably closer. The reasons given in the last sentences of the preamble—if the British Fleet did appear in the Bay, Eden would be called on to assist the British forces or "hazard the displeasure of the king which it cannot be expected he will do" —were, however, cogent enough to overcome the reluctance of the majority to agree to the resolution, especially since, as a sop to the Conciliationists, these words appear at the end, "the powers of government in the absence of the governor devolve upon the president of the Council, and therefore the governor's departure cannot occasion a dissolution or suspension of the present established form of government, within this province, which this Convention does not think ought now be changed." Only on May 21, the Convention had given as their opinion that "it was not necessary that the exercise of every kind of authority under the crown should now be totally suppressed in this province," which was what the Congress had just recommended to all the provinces.

III

In the middle of May 1776, a certain word was tossed about in the Congress which was to become memorable before many days had elapsed. Soon the Philadelphians and not much later people elsewhere began to talk about the "Preamble." What was this "Preamble"? What did it mean and how did it originate? The Militants in the Congress, although confident of ultimate victory, were becoming increasingly impatient with their

[71] *Ibid.*, VI, pp. 732 ff; V, 1594. Letters of Benjamin Rumsey, May 1, 12, 20, 1776, B. E. Hall Papers, Md. Hist. Soc.

lack of progress. Richard Henry Lee remarked that while some delegates were waiting for the people in the colonies to take the initiative, the people themselves were waiting for Congress to show the way.[72]

He and his friends decided to jar the country out of its complacency and to work both through the provincial conventions and Congress. In the beginning of the month of May, the Militants hatched and devised an adroit stratagem: they presented a motion that the colonies empower the Congress "to cement, direct, and order such further measures as may seem necessary for the defence and preservation, support and establishment of rights and liberties in these colonies."[73] This motion being defeated, a less drastic resolution was introduced: "Resolved, that it is recommended to the respective assemblies and conventions of the United Colonies, where no government sufficient to the exigencies of their affairs has hitherto been established, to adopt such government as shall, in the opinion of the representatives of the people, best conduce to the happiness and safety of their constituents in particular, and America in general." The motion was debated furiously for several days but was adopted on the tenth of May with "remarkable unanimity."[74]

The phrasing is quite similar to the resolutions of the previous year suggesting to three colonies that they set up governments of their own choosing, but the present resolution was intended by its sponsors to serve as a key to open the first gate leading to independence. Much depended, however, on how the resolution was to be interpreted and employed. Both sides hoped to steer it their way by means of a preamble, which would clearly indicate the direction intended. James Duane reported to John Jay on May 11th, "A resolution has passed a committee of the whole Congress, recommending it to the colonies to assume all the powers of government. It waits only for a preface, and will then be ushered into the world. This in confidence as res infecta."[75]

The men chosen to write the preamble—and this was a clear victory for the Militants—were John Adams, Edward Rutledge, and

[72] *Lee Papers*, II, 24.
[73] Catherine Drinker Bowen, *John Adams and the American Revolution* (Boston, 1950), p. 578.
[74] *Journals of the Continental Congress*, IV, 341.
[75] Bancroft Collection, Revolutionary Papers, New York Public Library, I, 65.

Richard Henry Lee, but Adams did the actual writing himself, instructed by the others only to be brief and to confine it to one paragraph. On May 15, Adams read the complete preamble to the Congress: "Whereas his *Britannick* Majesty, in conjunction with the Lords and Commons of *Great Britain,* has, by a late Act of Parliament, excluded the inhabitants of these United Colonies from the protection of his Crown; and whereas no answer, whatever to the humble petitions of the Colonies for redress of grievances and for reconciliation with *Great Britain,* has been or is likely to be given, but the whole force of that Kingdom, aided by foreign mercenaries, is to be exerted for the destruction of the good people of these Colonies; and whereas it appears absolutely irreconcilable to reason and good conscience for the people of these colonies now to take the oaths and affirmations necessary for the support of any Government under the Crown of *Great Britain,* and it is necessary that the exercise of every kind of authority under the said crown should be totally suppressed and all the powers of government exerted under the authority of the people of the Colonies for the preservation of internal peace, virtue, and good order, as well as for the defence of their lives, liberties, and properties, against the hostile invasions and cruel depredations of their enemies. . . ."[76]

Again, the Conciliationists tried to stem the tide. "Why all this haste? Why this urging?" Duane pleaded. Wilson feared a state of anarchy. But the majority of colonies favored preamble and resolution. The vote was seven to five, Maryland refusing to vote. "Mr. Duane called it to me a machine to fabricate independence," John Adams wrote later. "I said, smiling, I thought it was independence itself, but we must have it with more finality yet." He thought that it amounted to total, absolute independence and that they must now pursue a confederation.[77]

In noting that independence was rolling across the country like a torrent, he charted the position of each colony. Four colonies to the southward were now perfectly agreed with the four to the northward. Five in the middle "were not yet quite so ripe but very near it," and four of them would soon adopt new governments and repeal their instructions. "Maryland re-

[76] *American Archives,* VI, 1671.
[77] John Adams, *Works,* III, 46. *American Archives,* VI, 488. *Warren-Adams Letters,* I, 245.

mains to be mentioned. That is so excentric a colony—sometimes so hot, sometimes so cold, now so high, then so low—that I know not what to say about or to expect from it. When they get agoing, I expect some wild extravagant flight or other from it."[78] Elbridge Gerry declared that the "moderate gentlemen are now coming over to us," but Carter Braxton said he saw that several colonies "could not consistent with their instructions come into this measure."[79]

The Maryland delegation (Alexander, Rogers, Stone, and Tilghman), or at least three of the four, "withdrew after having desired in vain a copy of the proceedings and their dissent."[80] What were the sentiments and opinions of these men? They were Moderates, and while all of them had wholeheartedly supported the war effort, they either were not in favor of independence at that moment—Stone and Alexander, at least, among them—or, at any rate, knowing that they were barred by their instructions, they could not vote affirmatively and therefore decided to write for new instructions and to wait for them, before taking part in any further debates in Congress. While unfortunately no such letter to the Council has been found, we may surmise the contents. After rendering a description of the dispute over preamble and resolution and their subsequent passage, the delegates undoubtedly requested to know what the Council or the Convention desired them to do now. Luckily, a letter written by Thomas Stone throws a candid light over the proceedings, and his own reaction is gravely expressed. The letter is dated May 20, 1776, and is addressed to a friend in Maryland, most likely James Hollyday:

I am much pleased by the temper shown in Convention, though I fear it can now be of little service in the general state of American politics. The die is cast, the fatal stab is given to any future connection between this country and Britain, except with relation of conqueror and vanquished which I can't think of without horror and indignation. Never was a fairer cause with more promising appearance of final success ruined by the rash and precipitated councils of a few men. In a very short time we should have been restored to our rights. . . .

If the ministry are in earnest in promoting a negotiation with a

[78] *Warren-Adams Letters,* I, 249.
[79] *American Archives,* VI, 517, 173.
[80] *Ibid.,* VI, 174.

design to do justice to America which, however, I much doubt, or upon their deceitful show of reconciliation being detected, laid open, and exposed, the general and almost unanimous voice of America would have been for separation, but first at the time when anxious expectations are raised and not satisfied one way or the other to strike a decisive stroke and at once, when the minds of men are not prepared for such an event, to cut the only bond which held the discordant members of the empire together, appears to be the most weak and ill judged measure.

I think it probable you will, before this reaches you, have taken some decisive measures in consequence of the joint letter of your deputies in Congress. It gave me exceeding pain that the Convention should be necessitated to take one or other of the perplexing alternatives supported by the preamble and resolve and our conduct in consequence thereof, but it could not be avoided. We postponed the question some days and did everything to prevent that destructive precipitation which seems so agreeable to the genius of some. Further delay could not be obtained, although there was the strongest reason for it. Two colonies being non-represented, it was in vain to reason and expostulate. The majority of colonies attending was known to be for the proposition. We conceived ourselves bound to withdraw from Congress immediately, on the vote of the preamble, and have not voted since. Having once determined in our judgment against the propriety of the measure and its tendency, it became us not to hesitate obeying the instructions of our constituents which in all cases with me—and I am persuaded with my fellow delegates —are sacred.

The vox populi must in great measure influence your determination, if the part [is] to be taken by the province upon this great change in the declared aim of the war, and I am strongly inclined to wish it could be well known before any decisive step is taken in Convention. You must, I presume, either declare explicitly that you will go all lengths with the majority of Congress, or you will not join in a war to be carried on for the purpose of independence, and will break the union, or rather, not enter into one for these ends. But in whatever is determined, it will be wise and prudent to have the concurrence of the people. I wish much to be with you and to remain with you to share in your perplexities, difficulties and dangers, be they what they may. . . .[81]

Concerning the difficulties respecting Governor Eden's re-

[81] Letter of Thomas Stone, May 20, 1776, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

moval from a stay in Maryland, he was of the opinion that it would be best to get him out of the province peaceably.

The Maryland Convention, which had begun on May 8, besides coming to their decision on Governor Eden, ruled that all votes and proceedings be published henceforth,[82] and they took a cautious step in the direction of independence in resolving to dispense with the usual oaths taken to the British government by the officers. Finally they took up the matter of the instructions. The delegates had not presumed to advise the Convention on the directions they themselves would wish to receive, even though Matthew Tilghman was among them, whose words were always received with respect and often spontaneously heeded. However distinctly eminent and important they might have been as members of the previous convention, they now felt themselves exclusively delegates to Congress and as such obliged to carry out the wishes of the Convention.

And what did the Convention decide? They resolved unanimously "that the people of this province have the sole and exclusive right of regulating the internal government and policy of this province," that "this Convention has the power to draw the whole force of this province into action" against the British aggressors, that "Maryland would enter into a further compact with the other colonies for the preservation of the constitutional rights of America," that "it is the opinion of this Convention that it is not necessary that the exercise of every kind of authority under the crown of Great Britain should now be totally suppressed in this province and all the powers of government exerted under the authority of the people," and, finally, that as "this Convention is firmly persuaded that a reunion with Great Britain on constitutional principles would most effectually secure the rights and liberties and increase the strength and promote the happiness of the whole empire . . ., the said deputies are bound and directed to govern themselves by the instructions given to them by this Convention, in its session of December last, in the same manner as if the said instructions were particularly repeated."[83]

These instructions arrived in Philadelphia on May 24th, and Duane remarked that Maryland approved of the conduct of

[82] *Proceedings of the Conventions*, p. 133.
[83] *Ibid.*, p. 141.

her delegates in dissenting from the preamble and resolution, repeated their former instructions, and declared that the people of Maryland had not lost sight of a reconciliation with Great Britain and that they would adhere to the common cause and support it.[84] Richard Henry Lee wondered whether the Convention was a "conclave of Popes, a mutilated legislature, or an assembly of wise men."[85] There is no question that the Convention resented any attempted interference from Virginia or the Congress. Hancock's attitude in April had been most obnoxious to them. Because the Convention believed it to be the exclusive privilege of the inhabitants of Maryland to form their internal government when and how they pleased, these resolutions turned out somewhat more defiant than they would have under less exasperating circumstances. They were dignified as always, but for once a note of indignation, however restrained, was undeniably present.

What about the members of the Convention? What were their feelings? On May 26, James Hollyday, one of the most influential ones, wrote a highly informative letter to Thomas Stone:

From the impatience of many among us to get home to their families, our Convention rose last night after referring to another session a good deal of business that might have been dispatched in three or four days. Some important measures have been taken. Those of most consequence—besides what have already been communicated to you—are a resolution that the peace and safety of the province required that the governor should leave it; he acquiesces and is furnished with passports down the bay, through this province and Virginia. A resolve that the oath of allegiance should be dispensed with in the qualification of all officers under the government, and that the Convention will take care to indemnify them for acting under their commissions without having taken such oath—and a resolve that the use of all the prayers for the king in the church service . . . be discontinued. Those two resolves are limited to the duration of the troubles, and we have by an address assured the governor of our favorable sense of his conduct respecting the dispute between Great Britain and the colonies and our wishes for his return to the government whenever peace and reconciliation shall happily be effected. Thus alas! are we proceeding by degrees

[84] Bancroft Collection, N. Y. Public Library, Revolutionary Papers, I, 85.
[85] *Lee Papers*, II, 46.

to that crisis we so much deprecate and I fear shall in the end find ourselves in a state of separation without adverting to the steps by which we have arrived at it.

I have long been endeavoring to prepare my mind for any—the worst—event and begin to think it a desirable composition, could I be suffered to retire to my little farm and wear out the remainder of life in obscurity—in bewailing the miseries of my country which I can neither prevent nor remedy. But this I fear will not be permitted; whenever it shall please the great disposer of events to suffer that so dreaded by me and desired by others to happen, I think it probable that men who have shown a disposition to moderation and an aversion to changes will not remain unnoticed by those who shall ascend to the top of the machine. . . .

I hope the resolves above referred to will contribute to keep peace and order among us for some time longer, and in this view I shall tell you I concurred with them. Should you think I judged amiss, I must reserve an explanation of my particular motives until I have an opportunity to converse with you. The dignity and authority of the Convention and Council of Safety have been vindicated in the proceeding against Purviance. He was dismissed with a censure and reprimand, containing a pretty strong intimation that his offenses would have warranted a more severe animadversion and a stricture upon the impropriety and tendency of strangers in the direction of our internal affairs—without mentioning the name of Lee who in an apology for his conduct by a letter to the Council of Safety has descended to the meanness of asserting a fact which his letter to Purviance plainly contradicts. The resolves you sent us from Philadelphia produced some good effects—it procured a unanimity in our resolves in consequence of it, which under other circumstances was not to have been expected.[86]

This letter gives us the clue to several questions on the Convention heretofore unanswered. It does not, however, shed any further light on the reason for requesting Governor Eden to leave Maryland, after he had just been exonerated from the accusation of "treason." One must assume that the reasons given in the resolution are the actual ones which caused a majority of members, including Hollyday, to vote for Eden's departure.

Hollyday rather stresses the circumstances that the prayers for the King and oaths are to be omitted for the duration of the

[86] Letter from James Hollyday to Thomas Stone, May 26, 1776, in possession of author.

"conflict" only, after which they are to be resumed, and the governor is to be reinstated. Evidently the hope of the Convention was that total independence could be avoided. The vote on requesting Eden to leave was two to one. If Hollyday, who voted for the resolution, feared that "in the end they shall find themselves in a state of separation," one can assume that many of those voting with him had similar doubts and fears, while the nineteen men voting to keep Eden in Maryland, including James Tilghman, Ringgold, Goldsborough, Murray, and Scott, obviously were even more decidedly opposed to independence.

When Hollyday expresses the fear that men in power once independence is established will take revenge on former moderates—an event which did not materialize because the men then in power managed to continue to keep control—he explains the reason why, in spite of occasional differences of opinion, the ruling oligarchy continued to remain closely linked together: it was the fear of a possible seizure of control by the lower classes pushing their way in amidst the turmoil of complete independence.

Hollyday's remark about his having concurred with these resolves because they would tend to keep peace and order in Maryland for some time longer sounds almost as though he considered this concurrence a concession. In two of the points it quite clearly was a concession: the oaths were dropped because "sundry officers had refused to take upon them the trusts to which appointed, alleging scruples to take the actual oaths to the government," and the prayers were omitted because "the good people of this province cannot with any sincerity of heart pray for the success of his Majesty's arms."

These concessions then—and they were concessions of the Convention and not merely Hollyday's—were made to groups outside the Convention, "officers" and "the people." We begin to hear the first murmurs, to feel the motion of a softly accelerating undercurrent. Concessions these were to keep peace and order. Those were the important slogans of the ruling groups in Maryland, this was what really mattered to them. With peace was meant the peace inside the province, not peace with England. They were patriots all right and had no scruples to maintain or reestablish their personal freedom or their rights. They

would fight for them if necessary—and we know that many of them did—and they would make personal and material sacrifices if need be, but the point that all this was being done was to promote the chance that eventually it would enable them to return to the ordered system of living which they were accustomed to. That is also precisely the reason for their clinging to the last remnants of a political connection with the past, knowing that the past had been stable, not knowing what the future would bring. Republicanism they were not particularly opposed to, because that was more or less what they had had all along, in spite of a royal governor, but democracy was the plague, the great evil that must be avoided above all else, and the Convention had the uneasy feeling that, after independence were once declared, they would have a more difficult time fending off democracy than now.

Hollyday's last sentence has considerable significance. "The resolves sent from Philadelphia [asking that Maryland adopt a government of their own choosing and prepare the way for independence] produced some good effects—it produced a unanimity in our resolves in consequence of it, which under other circumstances was not to have been expected." First of all, the extreme promptness of the passing of the resolves is surprising which was so unlike the many days of debate and argument over matters like the Eden-Purviance affair. The resolution of the Congress was received on May 20, the committee to consider it was appointed immediately and rendered its report the same day. The very next morning the Convention passed their resolution *unanimously* that Maryland had the *sole* and *exclusive* right to regulate her own affairs and that they were firmly persuaded that a reunion with Great Britain on constitutional principles would most effectually secure rights and liberties and promote happiness . . . and that the deputies in the Congress must not vote for independence. Hollyday indicates, and the minutes of the Convention confirm, that the request of Congress was considered an affront to Maryland and that it galvanized the Convention into immediate action. Hollyday is particularly pleased with this unanimity especially noteworthy because of its spontaneity.

The Convention's extraordinary touchiness about outside interference was due not only to the resolutions of Congress,

though it served as an outlet, being but the last step in a series of what they considered provocations and offenses. The cup was overflowing, and the Convention bristled with righteous indignation. We have read that the Council of Safety regarded itself as a mere instrument of the Convention, anxious to consult them on questions of paramount importance. They actually were part and parcel of the Convention, truly their own flesh and blood, with no disagreements and differences of opinion.

IV

On Wednesday, June 26, at about noon, H.M.S. *Fowey* hoisted sail and went down the Bay. And on her went Robert Eden, carrying with him all the hopes of Maryland for reconciliation. As early as May 31, the Virginia Convention had written a letter to the president of the Convention of Maryland, taking them to task for letting Governor Eden join the British Fleet.[87] The letter is based on a total misconception of Eden's character. The Virginians assumed that he was another Dunmore, whereas the members of the Maryland Convention, having been in close association with him for seven years, knew him for a sincere and well-meaning man. Every dissimulation of his now would have been entirely out of keeping with the favorable record that he had established. The intention of the Virginians was, as the Marylanders saw it, "to stir up the people against the powers now in being for which they deserve to be properly rewarded. How far such proceedings tend to promote union and harmony amongst the colonies, you will judge as well or better than we can. We intend returning them a short answer. . . ."[88]

Being requested by William Hayward, one of the new members of the Council of Safety, for some advice, Charles Carroll, Barrister, wrote him that Virginia should be told, briefly, that Maryland was not accountable to Virginia for their conduct, that they had not been deceived by any profession of friendship to America made by Governor Eden, but actuated by strict justice and honor only, that they "had acted with the greatest

[87] *American Archives*, VI, 629.
[88] *Ibid.*, VI, 754.

discretion and prudence in continuing the government, in its old and at present established form, till they should themselves be convinced that there was no probability of a reconciliation with Great Britain and should find themselves under an absolute necessity of altering it."[89] That was the issue! The absolute necessity was not yet at hand but was approaching rapidly. In two more steps it would arrive at the Council's door. It would consist of the fact, then manifest, that the majority of colonies were determined to become independent of England.

The Congress, on June 3, requested the Maryland Council to furnish 3400 men of their militia for a Flying Camp to be established in the middle colonies.[90] The Council found itself under the "disagreeable necessity of calling the Convention" for June 20th as it was not "for us to say the militia should march out of the province." It would take all the arms they had and leave Maryland an easy prey to the enemy.[91] The Council felt concerned, and it was at this time that the population began to become perturbed. The Maryland newspapers had hinted, for some time, that independence was desirable.[92] William Eddis, on Governor Eden's staff, wrote that "independence is by no means the general wish in Maryland. Our neighbors are, however, active in propagating the popular doctrine, and I fear the number of proselytes is daily augmenting."[93]

How strong was the sentiment in favor of independence in the other colonies? All reports show that during the month of May many towns and indeed several colonies were abounding with cries for independence.[94] On May 15, the Convention of Virginia had instructed their delegates in Congress to vote for independence, and North Carolina had also come out in its favor.

In the Congress Richard Henry Lee said that not choice but necessity called for independence,[95] Samuel Adams and Josiah Bartlett thought that declaring the colonies independent must

[89] *Arch. Md.* XI, 483.
[90] *American Archives,* VI, 1695. Nettels, *George Washington,* p. 271.
[91] *American Archives,* VI, pp. 766, 782, 783.
[92] Hazelton, *Declaration,* p. 69.
[93] Eddis, *Letters,* pp. 301, 303.
[94] *American Archives,* VI, pp. 556 and 698-706.
[95] Richard Henry Lee, *Letters,* p. 198.

soon be decided,[96] and John Adams wrote that "we shall be obliged to declare ourselves independent . . ., before we confederate and before all the colonies have established their governments."[97] On June 7th, the Lee resolution was moved and seconded and postponed to June 10. Edward Rutledge wrote to John Jay that "the sensible part of the house opposed the motion," because it would merely give "our enemy notice of our intentions before we had taken any steps to execute them. . . . The whole argument was sustained by R. Livingston, Wilson, Dickinson, and myself, and by the power of all New England, Virginia, and Georgia at the other."[98] John Adams, on the other hand, described in glowing terms the beginning of a "most complete and remarkable revolution."[99]

On June 10, the consideration of the resolution was postponed till July 1, and a committee was appointed, "that no time be lost," to prepare a declaration of independence. The postponement was voted for "in order to give the assemblies of the middle colonies an opportunity to take off their restrictions and let their delegates unite in the measure," as Gerry explained it.[100] On June 11th the Maryland delegates in Congress (Tilghman, Stone, and Rogers) asked that the Convention of Maryland be convened as soon as possible. The letter was written by Matthew Tilghman, the "Patriarch of Maryland," and one cannot help but be impressed by the dispassionate and sound judgment and the true spirit of humility which it reveals. His election to the presidency of the Maryland Convention was almost automatic, and the influence which he wielded was second to no other, yet he "begs to be informed of the state of the province" and assures the Council of his readiness to attend to their commands. Ten days later the Council rendered account to him as president of the Convention.

Tilghman's views emerge in his letter. Two of them are of

[96] *Warren-Adams Letters,* I, 255. Emmett Collection, Declaration of Independence, New York Public Library, item 1541.

[97] John Adams, *Works,* IX, 387.

[98] *Correspondence and Public Papers of John Jay,* ed. Henry P. Johnston, (New York, 1890), I, 66.

[99] John Adams, *Works,* IX, 390.

[100] *American Archives,* VI, 813 and 1701. Letter of Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer to Charles Carroll of Annapolis, June 16, 1776, Purviance Papers, Maryland Historical Society Library.

major importance. His opinion that the coming Convention should allow the delegates to Congress to vote for independence is shown in the sentence: "This postponement was made to give an opportunity to the delegates from those colonies which *had not as yet given authority* [italics mine] to adopt this decisive measure, to consult their constituents." By inserting the two words "as yet," he discloses his opinion that authority will be given; it is desirable that it be given. It is true, he is moving very cautiously, as the Council of Safety—at the very least the chairman, Jenifer—was known to be hoping for reconciliation, but those two words give him away. The *Dictionary of American Biography* says, "Matthew Tilghman was one of the Maryland delegates who first expressed themselves openly in favor of independence and recommended a session of the Maryland Convention with a view to the removal of its restrictions in that particular."

That—whatever his personal convictions—he was anxious to know what the *people* of Maryland, and not necessarily only the Convention, desired in respect to independence is shown throughout the letter, most clearly though in the sentence, "We wish to have the fair and uninfluenced sense of the people we have the honor to represent . . . It would be well if the delegates to the Convention were desired to endeavor to collect the opinion of the people at large, in one manner or other, previous to the meeting of the Convention."[101]

The two other delegates, Rogers and Stone, were agreeing with Tilghman. According to John Archer Silver, "the delegates themselves were plainly in favor of taking the decisive step."[102] On June 15th the delegates were writing again, pleased that the meeting was to be held earlier than expected. They would like to attend, but would not leave Maryland unrepresented in the Congress, a minimum of three delegates attending being required.[103] Matthew Tilghman, who had been anxious to get back to Maryland, had been waiting for the news setting the date of the Convention and for a new delegate to take his place. Both arrived on June 14th, and Mr. Tilghman set off for Maryland the very same day.

[101] *American Archives,* VI, 806.
[102] Silver, *Provisional Government,* p. 42.
[103] *American Archives,* VI, 904.

The Council of Safety was "apparently not yet in favor of independence and was unwilling to take the responsibility upon themselves."[104] They wrote to their delegates in Congress on the 14th, "any mode their *representatives* may think proper to point out would be better relished by the people than *for us* to put them into a violent ferment that might not be approved of."[105] This was not very "satisfactory" to the delegates in Congress who wanted their instructions rescinded. They realized that if the Council of Safety were unwilling to take a poll of sorts concerning the wishes of the population, then some one else had to do it and at the same time give them an encouraging little push in the right direction. That is why Tilghman had been anxious to leave.

It was a fortunate circumstance that unexpected reinforcements should arrive just at the proper moment. On June 11th, Samuel Chase and Charles Carroll of Carrollton, the two Marylanders most eager for independence, returned from Canada. Theirs had been a fruitless errand. They reported that inexperience, carelessness, laziness, and plain stupidity had been responsible for the fiasco. By their account, there had been most shocking mismanagement, wrote John Hancock.[106] They were determined not to let it happen at home.[107] Samuel Chase knew that the Council of Safety, with all their desire to do the right thing, had not been sold on the idea of independence. John Adams, whose friend he had by now become, did not need to urge him to do his part. He knew what he could and must do.

Charles Carroll had very similar feelings and intentions. On arrival in Philadelphia he found the political scene much changed. "The desire for independence is gaining ground rapidly," he wrote to his father.[108] He was determined to use his not inconsiderable prestige at home. He and Samuel Chase left for Maryland on the 14th. Chase was hoping that he would "see John Adams on Monday or Tuesday fortnight with the voice of Maryland in favor of independence and a foreign alli-

[104] Silver, *Provisional Government*, p. 43.
[105] *American Archives*, VI, 883.
[106] *Ibid.*, VI, 812.
[107] Cornelia Meigs, *The Violent Men* (New York, 1949), p. 212.
[108] Letter of Charles Carroll of Carrollton to his father, June 11, 1776, Carroll Papers.

ance which are in (my) opinion the only and best measures to preserve the liberties of America."[109]

The Militants in Congress were now certain of victory. "Everything is leading to lasting independence," Oliver Wolcott said,[110] and John Adams wrote that "these throes will usher in the birth of a fine boy."[111] Delaware, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey seemed to be falling in line,[112] leaving Maryland the big question mark.

In Annapolis the stage was set for the enactment of the showdown. Of the prominent men, only Stone, Rogers, and Paca were in Philadelphia, there for the purpose of representing their province and to cast their vote according to their own convictions, *if* the Convention would allow it. The others were of divided opinion. The Council of Safety, though by no means unanimous, was in a most unhappy frame of mind. The way ahead looked hazardous and painful. A letter written by Jenifer to former governor Sharpe, then in England, on June 22, reflects this mood:

> This province still keeps up the ostensible form of government. How long it will continue the Lord above only knows. Everything seems to conspire against it, and we are verging fast towards independence. I must stand or fall with my country, unless a despotism should be set up more intolerable than that of the Parliament of Great Britain, which I think cannot be binding us in all cases whatsoever. So many, I fear, will be scrambling for power that it is at this time impossible to say how or in what manner the government will be established. I confess that should there be a departure from the old system of laws in the province I shall be totally unfit to have anything to say as to public matters, and upon that event's happening I shall retire and lament what was not in my power to prevent.[113]

Many of the leaders of the Convention were by now of the opinion that Maryland could not hold out when the other colonies should free themselves. But how to take the step?

[109] Hazelton, *Declaration*, p. 128.
[110] Charles Francis Adams, *Familiar Letters of John Adams and His Wife Abigail Adams* (New York, 1876), p. 183.
[111] *Warren-Adams Letters*, I, 257.
[112] *American Archives*, VI, 887.
[113] Letter of Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer to Colonel Sharpe, June 22, 1776, in possession of author.

Matthew Tilghman had found the solution by suggesting that the people must be consulted. And if the people were slow in coming to the conclusion that independence should be aspired to, why scruple at assisting them to come to the proper decision? Conversations, letters, speeches, contributions to newspapers, and circular letters were used to sway the population. Since it was at the county meetings where the members to the Convention were being selected, it was perhaps not so very farfetched that the thought arose to make use of the county meeting as the ideal agent for moving the Convention. There was no way that a plebiscite on the question of independence could be conducted, as all the modern machinery of straw votes and polls were lacking.[114] But if the county meetings could send delegates to the Convention, they could also send petitions to Annapolis. These, if skillfully written, might be the key that held the solution. And who was to direct the writing? That depended on the particular county; in some instances the most prominent, or officers of the militia, but occasionally the same men to whom the instructions were being addressed. The instructions, then, were not merely the expressions of public opinion, but also of the private views held by some of the very men they had the appearance of directing. It is quite evident that Matthew Tilghman, with the help of William Hayward of the Council of Safety, engineered the very meeting of the Freemen of Talbot County that instructed him. Undoubtedly this method was resorted to in other counties as well.[115]

Maryland as a whole had been slow to awaken to the desirability and necessity of a revolution. It must not be forgotten, though, that certain sections of the province reacted differently. Considering the natural division of Maryland by the Chesapeake Bay, one may say that most of the British sympathizers and neutrals were found on the Eastern Shore. The coast line was more exposed to raids by the British fleet, and the naturally cautious were more easily persuaded to join the sincere loyalists. On the whole it was much safer on the Eastern Shore to be openly in favor of the British than on the western side of the Bay, and there were relatively fewer militants here supporting

[114] Esther Dole, *Maryland during the American Revolution* (New York, 1941), p. 196.
[115] Tilghman, *Talbot County*, p. 92.

the war on the American side. As late as toward the end of June it is claimed in a letter, with considerable exaggeration, that the "whole eight Eastern Shore counties were against independence."[116]

The Western Shore can be divided into the counties bordering on the Bay and those of Western Maryland. From the beginning of the Revolution, the pioneers of Frederick County and the men of commercial Baltimore formed the advanced wing of the patriot party.[117] Frederick, the frontier county, was populated by the extremely individualist and selfreliant pioneers and by German settlers who had come down through the valleys of the Blue Ridge. We find relatively few who refused to sign the Association of the Freemen of Maryland and enroll themselves in the militia companies, unless they were Quakers, Mennonites, or Dunkers, and so had religious scruples.[118] As early as 1774 there were some individuals in the county who boldly proclaimed themselves in favor of independence.[119] The committees of observation here as well as in Baltimore, and the Associators of Anne Arundel County sent vigorously worded instructions to Annapolis demanding a rescinding of the rules binding the delegates in Congress.[120]

On June 16th, Jenifer asked, "Isn't it amazing that there should be men to be found who charge the recent ruling powers of Maryland with design of betraying the rights of America, when it is evident that we have done more for the general defense than any one colony on the continent . . .,"[121] and Eddis relates that "a formidable association has taken place in Baltimore under the appellation of the Whig Club. . . .The Convention are to meet on Wednesday, and it is probable, before they rise, that some important measures will be determined by Congress, in which they will be expected to acquiesce. Independence is the general cry of the infatuated multitude."[122] On June 21, Chase wrote to John Adams, "Read the papers and

[116] Hazelton, *Declaration*, p. 441.
[117] Steiner, *Sir Robert Eden*, p. 90.
[118] *Ibid.*, p. 7.
[119] John Ellery Tuttle, "Maryland Tea Party," *New England Magazine* (March, 1903), p. 47.
[120] Steiner, *Sir Robert Eden*, pp. 19, 32, 33, 36. *Maryland Gazette*, June 20, 1776. Broadside in Md. Hist. Soc. *American Archives*, VI, pp. 1017-19.
[121] Letter from Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer, see N. 100.
[122] Eddis, *Letters*, pp. 304 and 310.

be assured Frederick speaks the sense of the counties. I have not been idle. I have appealed in writing to the people. County after county is instructing. . . ."[123] The steady swing in public opinion to the side favoring independence was due to various factors. The people themselves, in many cases, had grown restless. The war was dragging on, and while Maryland remained as yet untouched, the reports from the front kept the people informed of the gradually increasing intensity. Many Marylanders, for instance the sharpshooters under Cresap, were up north, fighting. It was hard to support the struggle against a foe, if one was expected to owe allegiance to that selfsame enemy, acknowledge their king as one's own king, and, theoretically, obey the laws of their parliament. Now the governor was leaving; was that not a sign that the last bond with England was severed? Why, then, not proclaim independence formally?

Most members of the Convention were by this time convinced of the necessity for separation, and if they did not all follow Matthew Tilghman's example of telling their county assemblies that they must instruct the Convention to agree to independence, they at least adopted an encouraging attitude. The most active ones traveled widely throughout the province, made speeches, wrote letters, and were indefatigable. Samuel Chase and Charles Carroll of Carrollton were constantly underway and were undoubtedly the men most instrumental in promoting independence. J. Thomas Scharf claims that Paca, Johnson, and Robert Goldsborough were equally active,[124] but there is no evidence that they contributed any outstanding effort towards influencing the people.

Another voice was also heard, and it is hard to gauge the extent of his sway. The writer, who signs his contributions, addressed to the people of Maryland and published in the *Gazette,* simply as "American," took the side of the relatively small group who spoke out against the continued affiliation with Great Britain but also against both Convention and Council of Safety. He presents his viewpoint well enough; he thunders against the mode of governing by convention, set up as a temporary expedient only and having by now produced a perma-

[123] John Adams, *Works,* IX, 412 n.

[124] J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Western Maryland* (Philadelphia, 1887), I, 138.

nent self-perpetuating body with unlimited powers. He demands an immediate separation of powers and a frequent rotation of office with moderate salaries. He believes that preventing their delegates in Philadelphia from voting with the majority of other colonies showed a want of confidence either in the delegates or, worse, in the Congress, who should be the most capable judge of when the step of separation should be taken. Some of the desired changes did materialize, although the men who ran Convention and Council were to remain securely entrenched.[125]

The delegates to the Convention assembled at Annapolis with troubled hearts. It had been less than a month since they had parted, after having reached important decisions. Now they were forced to reconsider the most important one of them all. They were a proud lot and disinclined to do anybody's bidding. They were unwilling to yield to the arbitrary rule of the British Parliament in which they were not represented, and they were equally unwilling to submit to the unexpected and undesired orders of the Congress in which they were represented. However, most of them were now no longer adamant in their opinions. Their delegates to the Congress had told them that the majority of Americans were in favor of separating from Great Britain and had gently indicated their own concurrence, but they had also advised to consult the people of Maryland in order to be certain that they approved the step. It now appeared that this would also provide the needed reason for reversing the decision which they had made only four weeks earlier. They would listen to the wishes of the population—whom they had, in many cases, adroitly prepared for this purpose—and vote accordingly. This is not to say that they were insincere. They saw more clearly now that it was not feasible to go on with this war of rebellion against the mother country and at the same time to try retaining the fragile but definite link which still connected them with England.

The more cautious of them prevailed in having the Convention ask the Congress to let their three delegates come to Annapolis to give their own version in person.[126] On June 24, the Convention decided that "all questions be determined by a

[125] *American Archives,* VI, pp. 1094-98.
[126] *Ibid.,* VI, 1485.

majority of members" instead of by county, and that, if requested, the votes be entered in the journal.[127] On the 25th, the debates and proceedings were ordered to be public, and it was resolved that writs of election of delegates in Assembly not be obeyed and no election be held. This in effect sounded the death knell of the proprietary and royal influence in Maryland, and the province moved one step closer to formal independence.[128]

The Freemen of Anne Arundel County now demanded formally that their deputies vote to rescind the January instructions, and the committee of the militia proposed a new type of government.[129] The letters of Benjamin Rumsey to Benedict Edward Hall of the previous month give hints of the events now shaping up. That there were more than heated discussions during the sessions of the Convention he shows by writing that "we have had a small Fracas here 6 Days ago. Mr. R. Goldsborough called Col. Lloyd a Fool for asserting in Philadelphia that the Instructions given by the last Convention were not agreeable to the people here. And to his Face he pulled Mr. Goldsborough by the Nose to Day . . ."[130]

Early in the morning of June 28th Charles Carroll of Carrollton gave his father a report on the proceedings up to that time. It is strange that it apparently was believed by the Convention that not only Captain Montague of the *Fowey* but Governor Eden as well had, by not returning the refugees who had sought protection on board, broken the armistice—which had been entered for the purpose of allowing the *Fowey* to come to Annapolis—and this belief served to influence the members. He continued:

So scandalous a transaction has opened the eyes of the Convention and has inspired them with warmth and spirit. We are now to vote individually and the doors are opened. I make no doubt a more equal representation will take place. We have made one silly resolve which was carried by a majority of two only: to incapacitate all militia officers from being members of any future conventions. This resolve was carried through with great precipitation and of course

[127] *Ibid.*, VI, 1486.
[128] *Ibid.*, VI, 1487.
[129] *Ibid.*, VI, 1091.
[130] Letter of Benjamin Rumsey to B. E. Hall, May 20, 1776, B. E. Hall Papers, Md. Hist. Soc.

without consideration. . . . Th. Johnson is made Brigadier . . . He cannot be a deputy to Congress if he remains Brigadier, and I believe he is heartily tired of his seat in Congress. We cannot do without him in Convention, and yet if the vote above mentioned is not repealed, he cannot be a delegate to the Convention. Should the people think themselves bound by so absurd a vote? I hope I shall not be of the Council of Safety. I really begin to be sick of this busy scene and wish for retirement. If men would lay aside little byviews and party disputes, it would be a pleasure as well as a duty to serve the public, but men will be men. The hour of the House is fast approaching. I have not yet breakfasted.[131]

He was certain that the "order to the deputies would soon be rescinded," which indicates that the delegates had been discussing this point unofficially and that a majority was thought to have decided in favor of independence.

After the morning session of June 28th had started, two messages arrived which powerfully affected the Convention. One was a letter by John Adams to Samuel Chase, written on June 24th,[132] the other was the "Declaration of the Deputies of Pennsylvania, Met in Provincial Conference." This had been laid before Congress and read on June 25; in it the deputies expressed their willingness to "concur in a vote of Congress, declaring the United Colonies free and independent states."

Clearly it was these two pieces of mail which not only brought about the decision to proceed forthwith and vote on the question of rescinding the instructions but also produced the favorable vote. Although it must be assumed that the delegates to Congress answered the letter of June 21st, no such answer has been found. John Rogers did write a letter to Matthew Tilghman, but he mentions neither the request nor the letter of the 21st. For that reason, Adams' letter assumes special significance. He tells Chase that Congress did not permit the Maryland delegates to go to Annapolis, the reason being that all colonies knew that the first of July had been set for the debate and the vote on the Lee resolution. As the Convention had been waiting for the appearance of the three delegates and holding off their decision for seven days, there was now no rea-

[131] Letter of Charles Carroll of Carrollton to his father, June 28, 1776, Carroll Papers.

[132] John Adams, *Works*, IX, 412.

son for waiting any longer. Indubitably the Adams letter, addressed to Samuel Chase in Convention and certain to have been read by him to the Convention, brought on the decision to take a vote immediately. That the vote, when taken, should have turned out to favor rescinding the instructions, must be attributed chiefly to the other item of news in Adams' letter, which was that New Jersey and Delaware had cast their lot for independence, and to the Declaration of the Pennsylvania Deputies. The Middle Colonies had been the only ones to hold out against it. Maryland knew now that all the colonies, with the possible exception of New York, would be in favor of independence. That the Convention would now follow suit could be assumed, but that the members voted for it unanimously comes as a surprise. Only a month before, they had voted unanimously against it. Maryland had indeed traveled a long way in these momentous thirty days. We know that public sentiment had changed, we know about the influence which the county instructions and the news from Philadelphia had exerted, we also know that Matthew Tilghman, Samuel Chase, and Charles Carroll of Carrollton, who had been absent from the May Convention, were most influential in changing the vote, but the unanimity is hard to explain. The acidulous "American" later wrote in the *Gazette,* "the necessity of the case and not the justice and policy of the measure obtained the assent of some, and others agreed to the vote who a few minutes before declared it was against their private opinions and the sense of their county."[133]

It would be interesting to know which delegates had been in favor of independence earlier, and which were the last to change over. Unfortunately, the voting on the instructions for the delegates tells us nothing. In December and May, the vote had been unanimous for the restrictions, in June it was unanimously against them. There are, however, several occasions on which the delegates gave their individual votes. Two of these are useful for our purposes and have been incorporated in Table 3. The questions selected for the tabulation are "Should Governor Eden be requested to leave Maryland?"—here the assumption is justified that those members of the Convention who

[133] *Maryland Gazette,* July 18, 1776.

wanted Eden to remain governor cannot be thought of as being in favor of independence, whereas the ones who finally decided to approve of the governor's vacating his seat were likely to be less averse to independence—and "Should voting be by individual members instead of by counties, as heretofore?" which is applicable to a lesser degree. By comparing the two votes we can actually see a fair amount of correspondence. The vote by county units, although it is comparable to the voting by colonies in the Congress, had enabled Maryland to build up more resistance to change, and allowed delegates to hide behind the anonymity of the counties.

The Council of Safety, as a group, up to the eve of decision was against immediate independence, only the Barrister, George Plater, and William Hayward having been in favor of independence for some time, the others being against it, in varying degrees.[134] Jenifer indeed wrote on July 17th, two weeks after the Declaration of Independence, "I am still of opinion that it is to our interest to be united with Britain and that our province instructed its delegates to agree to unite with the other colonies on declaring independence too soon."[135] This to General Charles Lee, of all people.

In the afternoon of June 28th, the Maryland Convention rescinded the instructions, and "this colony will hold itself bound by the resolution of a majority of colonies in the premises, provided, the sole and exclusive right of regulating the internal government and police of this colony be reserved to the people thereof."[136] Chase immediately reported to John Adams, realizing that the Congress was waiting impatiently for news from Annapolis. Up to then, the comments of the Congress had ranged from conviction of Maryland's eventual agreeing to separation to the belief that the population should be instigated to rise against their representatives in Convention.[137] It is true enough that the Convention was proceeding in slow and careful steps, much too sedately to suit the eager alacrity

[134] *American Archives,* V, 1595, and VI, 1486.
[135] *The Lee Papers,* II, 141.
[136] *American Archives,* VI, 1491.
[137] *Letters of Richard Henry Lee,* I, 189, 192, 203. *American Archives,* VI, pp. 1023, 1067, 1116. John Adams, *Works,* IX, 378. *Letters of Benjamin Rush,* ed. L. H. Butterfield for the American Philosophical Society (Princeton, 1951), pp. 96 and 100. *The Lee Papers,* II, 129.

of some men, but no credit is given the Convention's endeavors to obtain the approval of the inhabitants of Maryland and at all cost to maintain the independence of the province.

In the morning of July 1, 1776, just as they were "entering on the great debate, the unanimous vote of the Maryland Convention was brought to Congress empowering their delegates to concur in all points with Congress."[138] Following this, "the resolve for independence was considered and agreed to in Committee of the Whole—two dissentients, South Carolina and Pennsylvania. New York did not vote, not being empowered. Tomorrow it will pass the House with the concurrence of South Carolina" which had desired the decision to be postponed till then. "The Pennsylvania delegates indulge their own wishes, though they acknowledge, what indeed everybody knows, that they vote contrary to the earnest desire of the people."[139] "Tomorrow it will pass by a great majority, perhaps with almost unanimity. Yet I cannot promise this, because one or two gentlemen may possibly be found who will vote point-blank against the known and declared sense of their constituents. Maryland, however, I have the pleasure to inform you, behaved well. Paca, generously and nobly. . . ."[140] The following day the resolution passed, with no negative votes cast among the colonies.[141] And so the great event arrived and passed, Maryland's three delegates, Thomas Stone, John Rogers, and William Paca having voted in the affirmative on July 1 (in the Committee of the Whole, for independence), on July 2nd (in Congress, for independence), and on July 4th (for the Declaration).[142]

Thus, during the months of May and June, 1776, there was one issue alone which temporarily divided Maryland. This was the great question of independence. By the end of June, a sizable majority had swung towards independence, and when the unanimous vote favoring it was cast in Convention, most, though perhaps not all, members felt that independence was

[138] *The Lee Papers*, I, 45. John Adams, *Works*, IX, 415.
[139] *American Archives*, VI, 1727.
[140] John Adams, *Works*, IX, 415.
[141] *American Archives*, VI, pp. 1195, 1212, 1231, 1727.
[142] That Stone, Rogers, and Paca were the delegates present is shown by a document, signed by the three in Philadelphia, on July 4, 1776. Maryland State Papers, "The Red Books" H. R., IV, item 33.

not only necessary but also desirable. When, a few months later, a new convention, to which most former members had been reelected, assembled at Annapolis, they wrote a constitution and Declaration of Rights and set up a new government, certain now that mob rule with its egregious blunders could be avoided, that the war effort could be fully supported without great upheavals, and that the new state would enter life under favorable auspices.

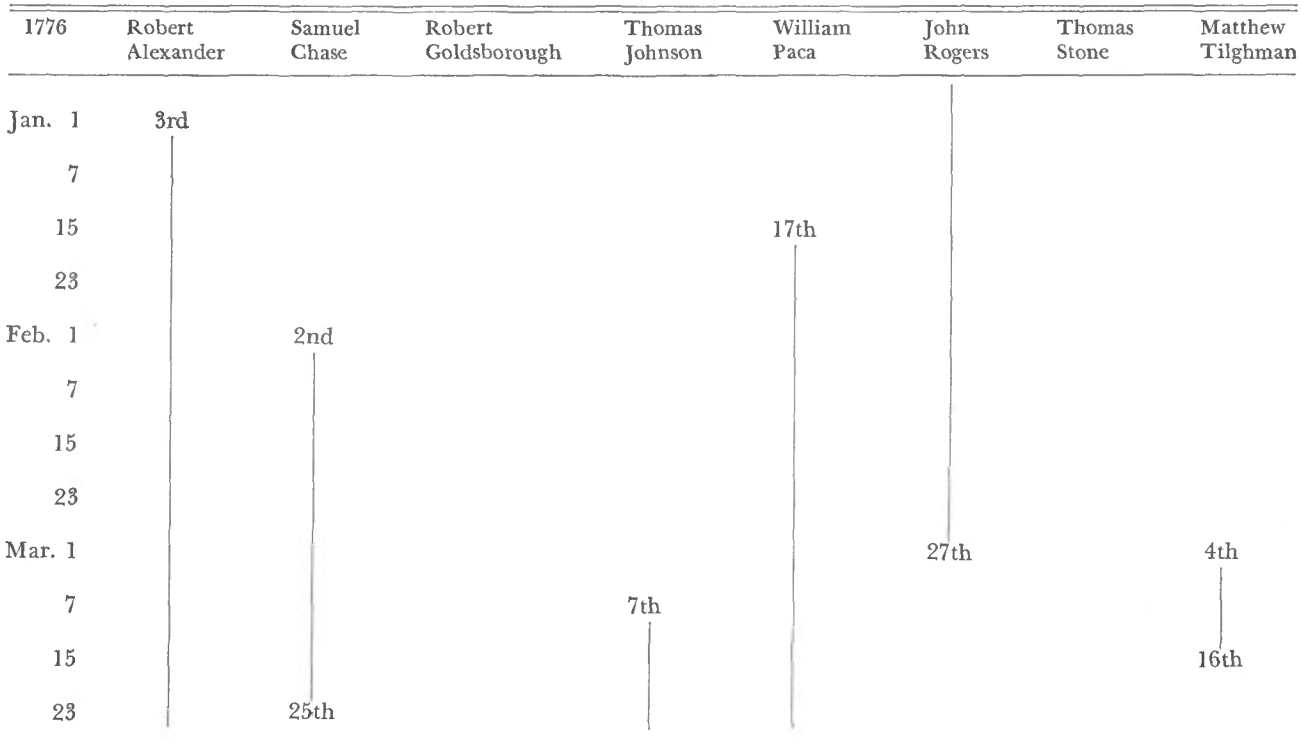
APPENDIX BELOW

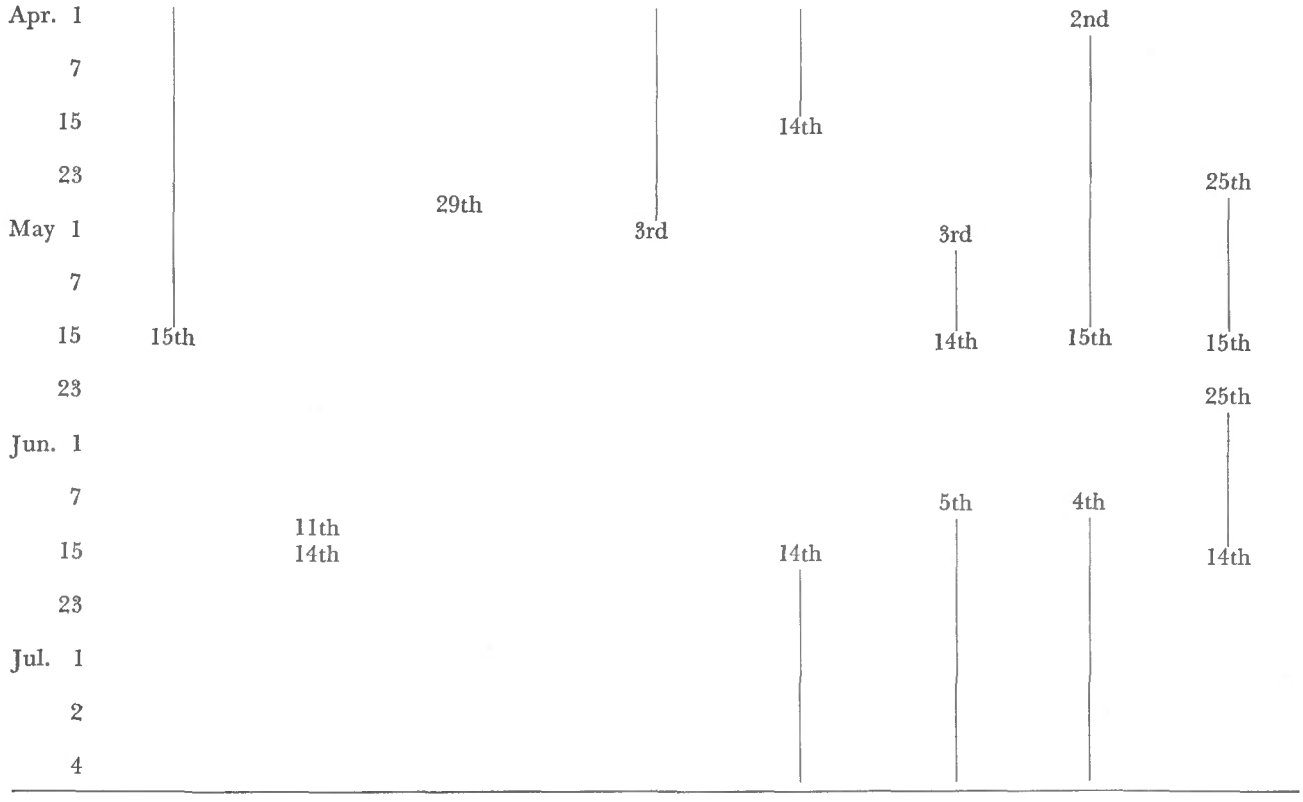
Table 1: Lines Represent Attendance at the Continental Congress

Table 2: Lines Represent Attendance at the Maryland Council of Safety

TABLE 1

Attendance of the Maryland Delegates in Congress, January to July, 1776




Apr. 1
7
15
23
May 1
7
15
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Jun. 1
7
15
23
Jul. 1
2
4
15th
29th
3rd
14th
3rd
14th
2nd
15th
25th
15th
25th
14th
11th
14th
14th
5th
4th
14th

TABLE 2

Attendance of the Maryland Council of Safety in 1776

1776	Daniel Jenifer	Charles Carroll	James Tilghman	Benjamin Rumsey	John Hall	Thomas Smyth	Thomas Hands	George Plater	William Hayward
Jan. 15	18th	18th	18th	18th	19th				
				20th					
23									
Feb. 1									
7				9th					
					14th	13th	13th		
15		16th			16-18				
					20-21				
23	22nd		24th		23-25				
	26th	26th	26th						
Mar. 1				3rd					
					4th	4th			
7		7th							
		13th				13th			
15	15th						17th		
	19th								
23		21st							
					29th	30th			
Apr. 1		2nd			2nd				
					6th				
7				9th	9th				

15
23
May 1
7
15
23
Jun. 1
7
15
23
Jul. 1
25th
23rd
25th
7th
7th
29th
28th
19th
29th
6th
1st
4th
11th
3rd
1st
4th
7th
24th
30th
22nd
5th
31st
4th
24th
14th
12th
22nd
25th
28th
30th
3rd
24th

TABLE 3

Members of the Convention Casting Their Votes

Names of delegates to Convention	County	Should Eden leave Maryland? May 24, 1776	Should questions be determined by a majority of members? June 24, 1776
Adams, William	Somerset		Yes
Allein, William	Calvert	Yes	Yes
Baird, William	Frederick		Yes
Barnes, Richard	St. Mary's	Yes	Yes
Beatty, Josias	Prince George's	Yes	Yes
Beatty, Charles	Frederick	Yes	
Bond, Thomas	Harford		Yes
Buchanan, Robert	Kent	No	No
Carroll, Charles (B)	Anne Arundel	Yes	Yes
Carroll, Charles (C)	Anne Arundel		Yes
Chaillie, Peter	Worcester	No	No
Chase, Jeremiah T.	Baltimore	Yes	
Contee, Thomas	Prince George's	Yes	Yes
Dallam, Richard H.	Harford	Yes	Yes
Dashiell, George	Somerset	Yes	No
Dashiell, Joseph	Worcester	Yes	Yes
Dickinson, Henry	Caroline	No	
Done, Richard	Worcester	Yes	
Earle, Richard	Queen Anne's	Yes	Yes
Edmondson, Pollard	Talbot	Yes	Yes
Ennals, John	Dorchester	No	
Ewing, Patrick	Cecil	Yes	Yes
Ford, Athanasius	St. Mary's	Yes	Yes
Gantt, Edward	Calvert	Yes	Yes
Gilpin, Joseph	Cecil	Yes	Yes
Goldsborough, Rob.	Dorchester	No	No
Griffith, Henry	Frederick		Yes
Hall, John	Anne Arundel	Yes	
Handy, Samuel	Worcester		No
Harrison, J. H.	Charles	Yes	Yes
Hawkins, Josiah	Charles	Yes	Yes
Hollyday, James	Queen Anne's	Yes	No
Hooe, Robert	Charles	No	Yes
Hooper, Henry	Dorchester	No	No
Johnson, Baker	Frederick	Yes	Yes
Johnson, Thomas	Anne Arundel	Yes	Yes
Jordan, Jeremiah	St. Mary	Yes	Yes
Letherbury, Peregrine	Kent		Yes
Lloyd, Richard	Talbot		Yes

TABLE 3—*Continued*

Names of delegates to Convention	County	Should Eden leave Maryland? May 24, 1776	Should questions be determined by a majority of members? June 24, 1776
Love, John	Harford	Yes	Yes
Mackall, William	Calvert		Yes
Mason, Richard	Caroline	No	
Moale, John	Baltimore		
Murray, James	Dorchester	No	No
Nicholson, Benjamin	Baltimore	Yes	
Plater, George	St. Mary's	Yes	Yes
Reeder, John	St. Mary's		Yes
Richardson, William	Caroline	Yes	Yes
Ringgold, Thomas	Kent	No	Yes
Rumsey, Benjamin	Harford		
Scott, Gustavus	Somerset	No	No
Sim, Joseph	Prince George's		Yes
Sluby, William	Kent	No	
Smith, Patrick Sim	Calvert		Yes
Somerville, Alexander	Calvert	Yes	Yes
Stull, John	Frederick		
Sudler, Emory	Kent	No	No
Thomas, Nicholas	Talbot	No	No
Thomsen, John D.	Cecil	Yes	No
Tilghman, James	Queen Anne's	No	No
Tilghman, Matthew	Talbot		Yes
Tolley, Walter	Baltimore	Yes	
Tyler, Robert	Prince George's	Yes	
Veazey, John	Cecil	No	No
Waters, Peter	Somerset	Yes	No
Wright, Thomas	Queen Anne's	Yes	No
Wright, Turbutt	Queen Anne	No	No

THE ADAMS-KILTY HOUSE IN ANNAPOLIS

By William V. Elder III

On Charles Street in the city of Annapolis, directly across from the well-known Jonas Green House, there stands a large, square brick house that has long been overlooked as one of the more important examples of late eighteenth-century architecture in the Annapolitan tradition. The building has been little more than mentioned in guides and books on the colonial city and has never been treated by architectural historians. Nothing was known of its builder, and for years the house has erroneously been called the birthplace of William Pinkney[1] and named the Pinkney-Kilty House. Besides its own architectural distinction the house is of utmost importance in its relation to the *Hammond-Harwood House* and *The Chase-Lloyd House,* the finest examples of William Buckland's mature Annapolis style. Of all the undocumented houses that have been attributed stylistically to William Buckland, the *Adams-Kilty House,* as it should properly be called, is most similar, in fact in parts identical, to his documented works. In addition all evidence seems to indicate that the *Adams-Kilty House* was begun the same year as the *Hammond-Harwood House* in 1773 and only a year after Buckland had undertaken the completion of the *Chase-Lloyd House.*[2]

The house stands on Lot #52 of Stoddert's 1718 Map of Annapolis.[3] This lot and the adjoining Lots #53 and 55 were owned[4] in 1718 by William Gresham, a large landowner of Kent County. The property apparently remained unimproved

[1] William Pinkney was never an owner of the property and the date of his birth in 1745 would antedate the building of the house.

[2] Rosamond Randall Beirne and John H. Scarff, *William Buckland, 1734-1771, Architect of Virginia and Maryland* (Baltimore, 1958).

[3] Original at The Hall of Records, Annapolis.

[4] Certificates of Surveys of Lots in Annapolis, 1718-1725. Liber TH No. 2, H. R.

and in the Gresham family, for in 1770 it was willed by John Gresham of Kent County to his brother, Thomas Gresham.[5] In the will the land is referred to as "my three lotts in the city of Annapolis lying and being between the lot of Daniel Dulany, Esquire, and the printing office."[6] In 1772 Thomas Gresham accepted a bond from William Adams[7] of Somerset County for the three lots on Charles Street. The agreement called for Adams to pay Gresham one hundred and eighty-six pounds current money by December 5, 1772, and one hundred and twenty pounds sterling money of Great Britain in bills of exchange by May 14, 1773.[8] This transaction is not recorded in the Maryland Land Records but rather in the records of the Chancery Court as Thomas Gresham died before complying to the bond. On April 22, 1788 Adams petitioned[9] Richard Montgomery Gresham, referred to in the records as an infant and the heir of Thomas Gresham, for a deed to the property. It was determined that William Adams had paid for the lots and a deed to the land was decreed by the Chancery Court on November 28, 1789.[10]

In establishing the builder and the date of the *Adams-Kilty House,* some conclusions can be drawn from the above mentioned transaction. Thomas Gresham received the three unimproved lots by will in 1772, the same year that he agreed to sell them to William Adams, indicating that a house could not have been completed or even planned by the time Adams received the property. The total purchase price would also preclude a house of such size. Although a dwelling house is not mentioned in Adams' petition of 1789 to the Chancery Court, the *Adams-Kilty House* had definitely been erected prior to 1786, at a time when William Adams did not have a deed for the property. A lease of February 28, 1786[11] between William Adams of Somerset County and Thomas Brooke Hodgkins of Annapolis refers to a "brick dwelling house already erected and built."[12] The house and lots #52 and 53 were leased to Hodg-

[5] Kent County Wills, Liber 38, f. 703, H. R.
[6] *Ibid.*
[7] Chancery Court Records, Vol. 18, f. 72, Land Office, Annapolis.
[8] *Ibid.*
[9] *Ibid.*
[10] *Ibid.*
[11] Deeds of The Provincial Court, TBH 1, f. 517, Land Office, Annapolis.
[12] *Ibid.*

kins for a term of twelve years beginning April 20, 1786, and for an annual rent of "forty pounds in current money in Spanish milled dollars at seven shillings and sixpence each."[13] The other terms of the contract are most interesting in the information they reveal on the house. For it was further agreed that Thomas Brooke Hodgkins:

> shall and will with all convenient speed repair and put in order in a neat and decent manner (at his own proper cost and charge) the rooms of the said dwelling house which at present are impaired and also repair the windows and doors of the said house so far as may be reasonably needful, and shall erect or cause to be erected at his own cost sufficient enclosure (in the usual form of post and rail fencing) to inclose the said two acres of ground, and shall also erect on the same lot where the dwelling house aforesaid stands a pump of water (if the same can be obtained) and shall also build a meat house, a wooden stable and a room for a carriage and enclose sufficient ground for a garden convenient to the said dwelling.[14]

The house had obviously been built for a number of years before 1786, and perhaps it had never been occupied. The absence of an enclosing fence and such utilitarian improvements as a stable and carriage house would support this supposition. It would seem most likely that William Adams, with Buckland as his architect, began the house either in the fall of 1772 or the spring of 1773 and that the main structure was completed before Buckland's death in the fall of 1774[15] but never occupied by the Adams family. With the opening of the American Revolution, William Adams probably returned to his plantation in Somerset County[16] and closed the recently completed house in Annapolis.

The name William Adams occurs many times in the records of Somerset County and individual distinction is extremely difficult. However, it can be ascertained that William Adams, the builder of the *Adams-Kilty House,* was the son of Reverend

[13] *Ibid.*
[14] *Ibid.*
[15] Beirne and Scarff, *op. cit.*
[16] William Adams owned a dwelling plantation in Somerset County, and is most likely the William Adams whose name occurs repeatedly in the Revolutionary War records of Somerset County.

Alexander Adams of Stepney Parish, Somerset County.[17] In his will[18] of 1769, Alexander Adams left to his son William Adams a tract of land called Whalley's Chance on the south side of Wicomico Creek. This same land is mentioned in the settlement of William Adams' estate, begun by his heirs in 1796. Again it is in the records of the Chancery Court[19] that we learn that William Adams died intestate in 1795 in Somerset County and was survived only by his widow. On July 30, 1796 a petition[20] was filed in Annapolis for the settlement of William Adams' estate, with his surviving brothers, George, Stephen, and Andrew Adams, and the children and grandchildren of Alexander Adams deceased, naming themselves as heirs. Curiously enough William Adams' widow and any rights to the estate that she might have had are not mentioned at this time. The court decided that Adams' property on the Eastern Shore and in Annapolis should be first appraised and then sold to settle the estate. William Adams owned over one thousand acres in Somerset County, and the plantation on Wicomico Creek was said to contain "an excellent dwelling house and outhouses."[21] All of this property was evaluated at four thousand pounds and another dwelling house and lot in Princess Anne at three hundred pounds. Robert Denny, trustee of the Adams estate, James Mackubin, Burton Whetcroft, and John Callahan were named to appraise the house and lots in Annapolis. They recommended that the property be sold as a unit and on August 1,

[17] The Reverend Alexander Adams was born in England about 1680. He came to Somerset County in 1704 as rector of Stepney Parish, and served there for sixty-five years until his death in 1769.

[18] Somerset County Wills, Liber 3, folio 365, H. R.

[19] Chancery Court Records, Vol. 47, f. 324, Land Office, Annapolis.

[20] *Ibid.* The inventory of William Adams is recorded in the inventories of Somerset County, Liber No. E.B. #19. f. 595-608. No distinction is made between his properties in Annapolis and Somerset County. His estate was evaluated at £2306 with over £500 in gold in cash assets. In this inventory an Ann Adams is named as widow and administratrix of William Adams' estate, although her name does not appear in the Chancery Court records. An additional inventory (Somerset County Inventories Vol. II, f. 16) of June 14, 1796 was filed by Dr. William Cottman and "Ann his wife and administratrix of William Adams, deceased." At the settlement of Adams' estate, William Cottman purchased the dwelling plantation in Somerset County. It appears that Ann Adams had remained in Somerset County after her husband's death and soon married Dr. Cottman. The inventory also reveals that £3 were paid to a Reverend Samuel Tingley for funeral rites.

[21] Chancery Court Records, Vol. 47, f. 324ff., Land Office, Annapolis.

1797, valuated the house and its three lots at eleven hundred and twenty-five pounds. The next year the estate was still not settled and the property was reevaluated at nine hundred pounds.

The tax list of 1798[22] for Middle Neck Hundred, Anne Arundel County, creates another problem in establishing the history of the *Adams-Kilty House*. Listed under the name of General Davidson as owner is the following entry: "one brick dwelling house 40 x 40, stable and carriage house 20 x 15 frame, smoak house 15 x 10 brick."

The above dimensions correspond to those of the *Adams-Kilty House* and the listing of the stable and carriage house, as well as the smoke house, indicates that Thomas Brooke Hodgkins had complied with the terms of his lease of 1786. In 1797 General John Davidson with Robert Denny had been made a trustee for the sale of the house in Annapolis and at his insistence on May 24, 1798 the property had become subject to a widow's dower. Among the papers[23] pertaining to the Adams estate there is a written assent of John Davidson as assignee of William Adams' widow to the sale of the Annapolis property. In his own words Davidson states, "I do hereby agree that the right of Dower I possess in the house belonging to the heirs of William Adams of Somerset County deceased shall be sold with the property," but for relinquishing his claim he was to receive one hundred and sixty-two pounds sterling from the proceeds of the sale. William Adams' widow is never referred to by name in any of the manuscripts or recordings of the Adams estate, and why John Davidson possessed her right of dower in the Annapolis house cannot be determined at this time. Furthermore William Adams' widow was not considered in the division of the properties on the eastern shore. However, as the tax records have indicated and the newspaper advertisement cited below will verify, John Davidson was occupying the *Adams-Kilty House* in 1798 and 1799.

On June 4, 1799 the Chancery Court and trustees decided to sell the three lots and house on Charles Street at a public sale.

[22] H. R.

[23] Chancery Court Records, Envelope #52, Land Office, Annapolis. General John Davidson was a large landowner in Annapolis and a member of the successful mercantile firm of Wallace, Davidson, and Johnson.

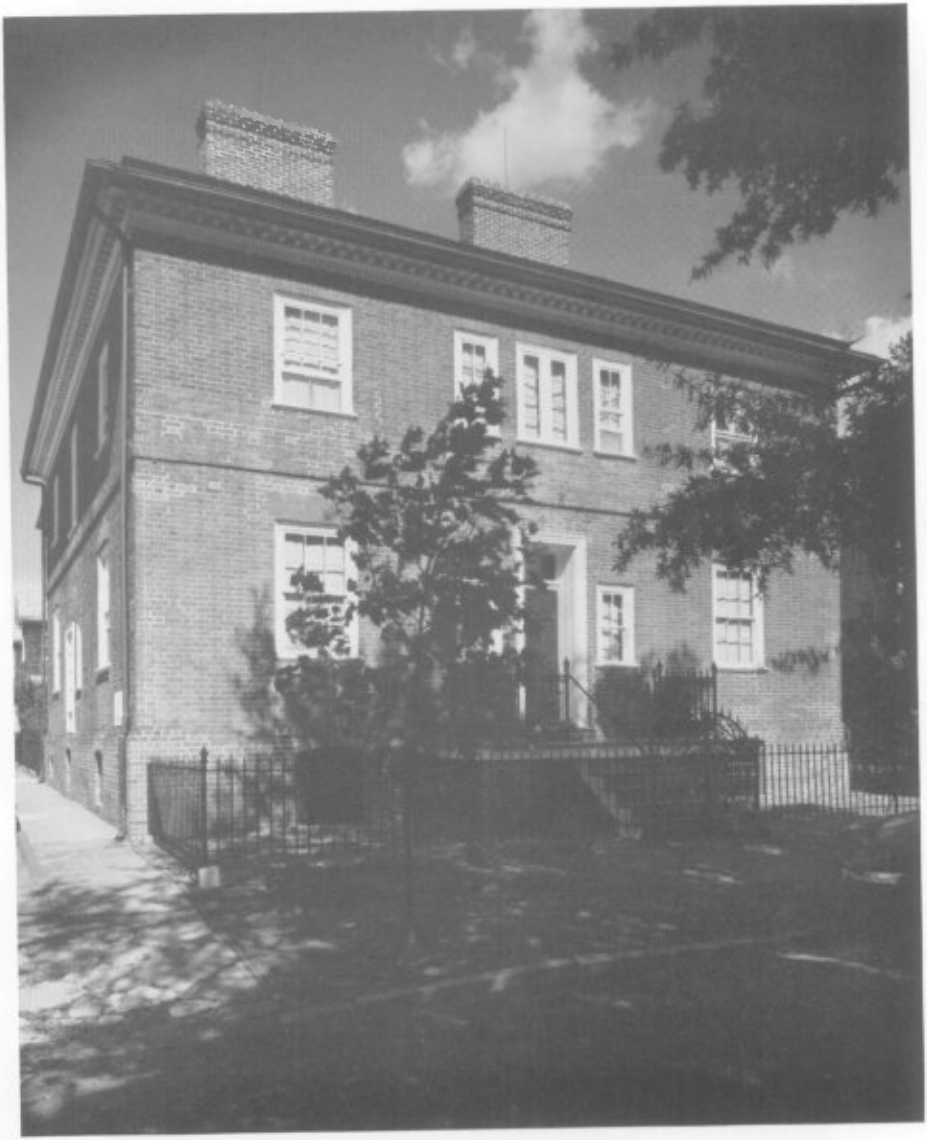

Fig. 1 The Adams-Kilty House

Fig. 3. Mantelpiece, Adams-Kilty House

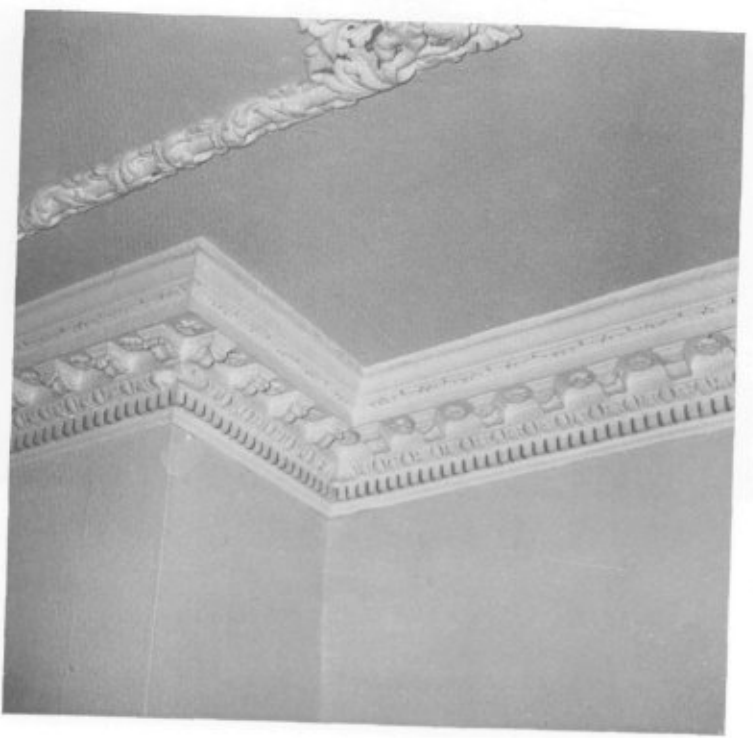

Fig. 4. Cornice

The following advertisement appeared in the *Maryland Gazette*[24] of October 10, 1799:

By virtue of a decree of the high court of Chancery, bearing the date of the fourth day of June 1799, the subscriber will sell at public sale at Mr. Wharfe's Tavern in the city of Annapolis on Thursday, the fourteenth day of November next, at eleven o'clock in the forenoon
The real estate of William Adams, late of Somerset County, deceased, lying in the said city of Annapolis, consisting of lots 52, 53, and 55, whereon is an elegant brick dwelling house, fronting on Charles Street, with suitable outhouses and other valuable improvements; the said property is now in possession of General Davidson, and maybe viewed at any time before the sale on application to the subscriber; it will be sold on a credit of twelve months, the purchaser giving bond, bearing interest from the day of sale.
Annapolis, September 2, 1799 Robert Denny, Trustee

The property was purchased for £775 by William Kilty,[25] later Chancellor of Maryland. In 1818 Kilty sold the house and the three lots to Francis Hollingsworth,[26] and six years later in 1824 Hollingsworth conveyed the property to Dr. George Wells,[27] who occupied the house for most of the nineteenth century.

The exterior brickwork of the *Adams-Kilty House* (Fig. 1) is of Flemish bond and of the same fine quality as that of the *Hammond-Harwood House* and the *Chase-Lloyd House.* Rubbed and moulded brick lintels are found over the windows of the entrance facade and the whole fabrication of the sash and window frames is identical to those of the *Chase-Lloyd House.* Ordinary brick was used over the two small windows flanking the entrance doorway but these openings were originally surrounded by a wooden entrance frontispiece very similar, and perhaps identical, to that which has survived at the *Chase-Lloyd House.* With the addition of a Victorian porch sometime in the late nineteenth century, all of this woodwork was unfortunately removed, but a photograph of about 1870 gives some idea of its original appearance. (Fig. 2) A flight of steps led to a rectangular entrance stoop conforming to the

[24] H. R.
[25] Chancery Court Records, Vol. 47, f. 324ff., Land Office, Annapolis.
[26] Anne Arundel County Land Records WSG No. 5, f. 590.
[27] Anne Arundel County Land Records WSG No. 10, f. 395.

width of the doorway and its two side windows. The early photograph indicates that the doorway was flanked by two three-quarter columns supporting a pediment above. As in the *Chase-Lloyd House* the capitals of the columns were separated from the cornice by a wide architrave which extended over the side windows. In the *Chase-Lloyd House* Ionic pilasters were used to terminate the wooden frontispiece and although it cannot be discerned in the early photograph it is reasonable to assume that the same design was followed in the *Adams-Kilty House*. Except for a slight difference in the spacing of the modillions the exterior cornice is of the same design as that of the *Chase-Lloyd House*, both of which are, in turn, closely related to the cornice of the central block of the *Hammond-Harwood House*.

Fig. 2. The Adams-Kilty House as it probably originally appeared

The exterior dimensions of the *Adams-Kilty House* form a perfect square, 40 x 40 feet, and there is an overall concern for proportion and symmetry in the fenestration that will be evident in the interior arrangement. The first-floor plan is merely a reversal of that of the *Hammond-Harwood House* with the stairhall and dining room appearing on the opposite side of the

building. In the *Adams-Kilty House* the overall cubic dimensions of the structure necessitated shortening the entrance hall. On each side of this entrance there are two drawing rooms of nearly equal dimensions, and two doors at the rear of the hall lead to the stairhall and the dining room. Another sitting room, or what was perhaps a family dining room, is found behind the stairhall. Under the landing of the staircase there is an exterior door flanked by two side lights. The Sasche view of Annapolis of 1857 indicates that the stable and carriage house were located on this side of the building, and this doorway would have been a service entrance. A flight of steps under the main stairway leads to the cellar and to the kitchen under the dining room. The massive cooking fireplace and ovens remain. Another room in the cellar, under what has been referred to as the family dining room, also has a fireplace and must have been for the use of the servants.

Much of the interior woodwork of the *Adams-Kilty House* has been removed over the years, but enough remains to further substantiate the proposed connection with the architect William Buckland. The interior mouldings of the entrance doorway may date from the nineteenth century but remaining sections of chairrail and door and window trim repeat the chaste mouldings found in the entrance hall of the *Hammond-Harwood House.* A plaster cornice with elements of Gothic design surrounds the ceiling, and was probably executed by an outside decorative plaster firm, such as Rawlings and Barnes, but under Buckland's direction. The woodwork of one of the front drawing rooms is intact and the mantelpiece with its carved brackets supporting an oversailing shelf is of the Buckland vernacular and Annapolitan style, as are the thick baseboards and projecting chairrail. (Fig. 3) The windows of this room and all those of the first floor have retained their panelled interior shutters.

The best preserved room in the *Adams-Kilty House* is the dining room and fortunately it is the most important in its resemblance to the same room in the *Hammond-Harwood House.* One of the interior walls is marred by a Victorian staircase added when the house was made into two dwellings in the nineteenth century, but the mantelpiece, dado, chairrail, and most of the plaster cornice have survived. (Fig. 4) The design and decoration of the *Hammond-Harwood House* have long been

recognized as the mature style of William Buckland and a synthesis of all that had been done in his earlier Annapolis houses. (Fig. 5) However, the identically conceived floor plans and the duplication of certain architectural elements and decoration in the two houses make any chronological placement in the development of the Buckland style a problematic one. All evidence seems to indicate that the *Hammond-Harwood House* and the *Adams-Kilty House* were begun about the same time in 1773, and the two structures can be best understood as simultaneous manifestations of the distinct late style of William

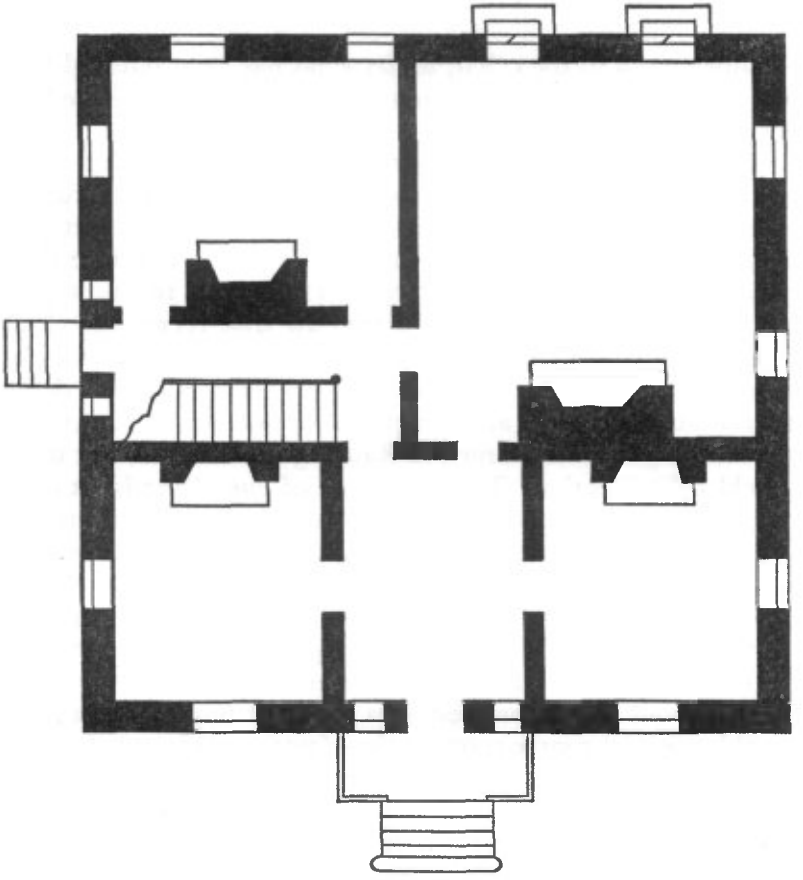

Fig. 5. Floor Plan, Adams-Kilty House

Buckland. The Annapolis architect was at the same time working on the *Chase-Lloyd House* and had chosen to duplicate the entrance doorway on the *Adams House* as well as the exterior cornice, and it can be assumed that he had arrived at a formulated floor plan and decorative scheme for domestic dwellings, rather than one house being a conscious imitation of the other.

In a comparison of the architectural decoration found in the dining rooms of the *Adams-Kilty House* and the *Hammond-Harwood House* it can be said that nothing is dissimilar but that there are only differences in the number of decorative devices employed and their degree of execution. The mouldings of the baseboard and chairrail are not carved as are those of the *Hammond-Harwood House,* but they are from the same source and are separated by an identical dado of horizontal board panelling. The plaster cornice of the *Adams-Kilty House* dining room lacks one small moulding under the dentil course but in all other respects it is the same as that of the *Hammond-Harwood House* and must have been made from the same molds. The mantelpiece is of a rather plain design with the only carving appearing in the brackets supporting the mantel shelf. These brackets are very much like those on the *Hammond-Harwood House* dining room mantelpiece and on the entablatures over the windows and doors. If the treatment of this mantelpiece in the *Adams-Kilty House* appears too simple for the style of William Buckland, a comparison need only be made to the woodwork of one of the front drawing rooms of the *Hammond-Harwood House.*

The two garden facade windows of the *Adams-Kilty House* dining room have unfortunately been obscured by the two-story addition on the rear of the house. One window has been made into a cupboard and the other serves as a doorway to the kitchen. However, all of their enframing woodwork has been left intact. The opening now used as a kitchen doorway was originally a window and jib door leading to the garden. As in the *Hammond-Harwood House,* the dado under the other window of this wall has been sunken and made to conform with the jib door.

Around the middle of the nineteenth century a double porch in the Greek revival style was added to the rear elevation of the

Adams-Kilty House, extending the full width of the building. In later years these porches were enclosed to provide additional rooms and space for utilities and plumbing. Consequently this rear elevation or garden facade is concealed. The stable and smoke house have long since disappeared and the entrance doorway frontispiece was probably removed at the end of the nineteenth century with the addition of a heavy Victorian front porch. For most of this century the building was literally divided in half by temporary partitions to afford two separate dwellings, but fortunately there were no structural changes. The present owners have removed the unsightly front porch, restored the brickwork and reinforced the house structurally. On the exterior and interior some restoration work is still to be completed, but the *Adams-Kilty House* has already reassumed its position as one of Annapolis' outstanding late eighteenth-century survivals.

SIDELIGHTS

BISHOP WHITTINGHAM, MOUNT CALVARY CHURCH, AND THE BATTLE OF GETTYSBURG

Edited by EDWARD N. TODD

WILLIAM F. BRAND's biography of Bishop William R. Whittingham lists a severance of the friendly relations between the bishop and Mount Calvary Church as one result of the High Church movement in Maryland Episcopalianism during the 1870's.[1] Whittingham clearly disapproved of many of the usages practiced by that parish's clergymen—in a letter of 8 April 1872 to the Reverend Joseph Richey, then rector of Mount Calvary, he specifically mentioned "lights upon the altar, wafer bread, elevations of the bread and cup, bowings to the altar, crossings of the person of the ministrant and assistants, and the processional use of the gestatory cross and banners in public worship . . ." as objectionable practices[2]—but recently discovered manuscript materials show that Whittingham's break with that parish occurred a decade earlier and had nothing to do with the High Church movement.

These materials, found in the Whittingham Papers, now housed in the library of the Peabody Institute, show that the battle of Gettysburg and Maryland's division of sentiments between the Union and the Confederacy furnished the primary ingredients for the split between Whittingham and Mount Calvary. Shortly after the battle at Gettysburg (1-3 July 1863), Whittingham issued a proclamation in which he asked his clergy to set aside the Sunday of 19 July as a day of thanksgiving for the Union's victory. Reverend Alfred A. Curtis, then Mount Calvary's rector and a Southern sympathizer, wrote the bishop on 18 July, stating that he could not comply with the bishop's request. Whittingham replied sharply and at some length, reprimanding Curtis and removing himself from the list of the parish's pewholders. Both men apparently wrote their letters hastily that day, or so one would conclude from the awkward and confusing passages, interlineations, and—especially for the bishop—the extraordinary illegibility of their handwriting.

Whittingham kept a series of little notebooks which he titled

[1] William Francis Brand, *Life of William Rollinson Whittingham, Fourth Bishop of Maryland* (2 vols.; New York, 1883), II, 211-2.
[2] *Ibid.*, 213-4.

"Clerical Services"; these, included in the Whittingham Papers, are simply a record of the churches he visited and of the services he performed. They show that, before 1863, he was more likely to be found in Mount Calvary than in any other parish church and that afterwards he divided his church attendance in Baltimore mainly between St. Barnabas's and Grace Churches. The table given below, listing his appearances in Mount Calvary Church, is compiled from two of the "Clerical Services" notebooks, those for 12 December 1858 to 20 March 1864, and 23 March 1864 to 28 October 1875.

1859: 20	1864: 10	1869: 7
1860: 69	1865: 10	1870: 1
1861: 93	1866: 9	1871: 3
1862: 17	1867: 26	1872: 1
1863: 2	1868: 8	1873: 1

Saturday morning July 18th. 1863

Rt. Rev. & Dear Father in God,

With the frankness which I have always used and always mean to use towards you I must tell you that I cannot on Sunday next or at any other time say a thanksgiving service for Federal successes. To the coercive policy of the present Administration I have been from the beginning unalterably opposed from the conviction that such policy as [being?] so would if persisted in effect the ruin of one or both sections of the country, and while compelled to reprobate the war itself I am constrained still more to reprobate the means and methods of its prosecution. In thus having my opinion as to the policy of a particular administration and in being disposed to testify in all legitimate methods my dissent from such policy I believe that as in so doing I do not transcend the rights, so I no more than fulfil the bounden duties of a citizen. Victories then on the Federal side of this strife are to me simply triumphs of the army and therefore steps and stages towards eventual ruin, and in consequence, such victories are to me matters of humiliation and not of thanksgiving. I need not say that I write what I write with unmixed regret and I feel entitled to hope that my past conduct is to you a guarantee that if in the matter in question I am constrained to disregard your admonitions it is solely because such admonitions are in conflict with convictions which I dare neither to forego nor to dissemble. As I have always obeyed you so when I *can* I always will continue to obey. I have striven to be brief because I do not wish to provoke discussion which would I am sure be to no good effect I being and long having been invincibly persuaded of the correctness of my attitude towards the policy of our present rulers.

Very reverently & affectionately,
Your serv in X
A. A. Curtis

Rt. Rev. Wm. R. Whittingham, D. D.
Bp of Maryland

277 Madison St.
July 18. 1863

Rev. and Dear Sir

Your note of this morning has been rec'd. and read with profound regret.

Occupied as it is with discussions which have no place in the intercourse between a priest and his bishop, it takes a corresponding tone of settled determination which is equally foreign to such intercourse.

You let me know your will backed by "invincible persuasion." Of course, remonstrance and argument are shut out.

I have but to hear, and act accordingly.

You will be kind enough to take my name off the list of occupants of seats in Mount Calvary Church. I cannot be associated with a body treasonably ungrateful for Divine mercy shown in the deliverance of the State from an invasion by armed rebels and thieves. I shall esteem it a favor if, at your convenience, you will take care that the surplice and stole belonging to me, now in your vestry, are returned.

I have never said a word to you concerning "administrations" and "policies," nor will I now. That jargon is the sleight whereby they who lie in wait to [illegible word] betray the souls of the simple into denial of the truth as it is in love. GOD'S word enjoins thanksgiving for those in power and the rendering of every duty to the powers that be. No sophistry can excuse a resident in this city from recognition of the civil authority of the State. That or none, is the power divinely entitled to obedience, and such acknowledgement in divine service as GOD's word prescribes.

The thanksgiving tomorrow, is only recommended to be made in the very words, without a change of a syllable or importation of the least allusion, which the Church has prescribed to be used on such occasions. I purposely made my recommendations thus jejune and insignificant, to avoid the possibility of supposed reference to divisions of opinion.

That any should have dared to reject thanksgiving for the late defeat of an invading army, altogether, as improper, was unconceived by me. While I accept the fact with horror, it can make no change in my course, because it makes no change in the plain, obvious [illegible word] right teaching of the Word of GOD, as ever held and obeyed by the Church of GOD.

Very faithfully,
Yr friend & bro.
W. R. W.
Bp of Md

Rev. A. A. Curtis
Rector of Mt. Calv. Ch. Balto

Saturday afternoon July 18th 1863

Rt Rev & Dear Father in God,

I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of this morning. In reply I desire to say that if my note to you was offensive in tone I am

very sorry and most heartily beg your pardon. Not having anticipated the fact of which I was compelled to inform you I can easily believe that to learn that fact did cause you "profound regret" but I certainly never meant to aggravate that regret by making my communication in an improper manner. Your request as to your pew, surplice and stole shall have prompt attention. All else pending between us I submit to GOD and to a time when I trust each will be better able to understand the other. At the risk I fear of being accounted hypocritical I reiterate that I am still

Your reverent & affectionate
Serv in Xrist
A. A. Curtis

Rt. Rev. Wm. R. Whittingham, D. D.
Bp of Maryland

REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

Virginia 1705-1786: Democracy or Aristocracy? by ROBERT E. and B. KATHERINE BROWN. East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1964. 333. $8.75.

This book is an attempt at "an appraisal of Virginia society before the American Revolution." As such it is impressive. The authors have used county records, diaries, legislative journals, statutes, and newspapers to amass a great deal of information which is clearly presented. They, however, have chosen to present their findings "largely as a study of the extent to which Virginia was aristocratic or democratic before the American Revolution." They find that "Except for slavery and British influence what now passes in this country for middle-class representative democracy was well-entrenched in the Old Dominion long before the American Revolution." That kind of thesis-riding makes an otherwise useful and interesting book smell like a polemic tract.

The book is useful. The authors quite conclusively exorcize the magic of "Primogeniture and Entail," demonstrating that primogeniture applied only in the case of generally small intestate estates and that entail was mainly a nuisance easily disposed of by use of writs of *ad quod damnum* or legislative action. Slaves made up almost two-fifths of the population by 1770, but ownership was widely distributed and the long cited dichotomy of a slave-owning Tidewater and free-labor Piedmont non-existent. Debtors and creditors were not split along the lines of social class. The only political cleavages were the religious questions of taxes on dissenters to support the established church, and the licensing of dissenting clergy.

The body of the text is reinforced by over fifty statistical tables. There is one map titled "Percentage of Slaves in Total Population 1775." Since this map does not show Loudoun, Fauquier, Amherst, and Buckingham counties, created 1757-1761, and is followed by tables on distribution of slaves 1750-1755, this is probably a typographical error. Thomas Lee (p. 83) had six, not five, sons and left land to the older four only. The omitted one, Thomas Ludwell Lee, turns up in 1776 on p. 294 telescoped into Philip Ludwell Lee, who was the only Councilor and died in 1775.

In conclusion, the book will not become the ultimate authority on the period, but students will neglect it at their peril.

JOHN CARTER MATTHEWS

Towson State College

The Fighting Elder: Andrew Pickens (1739-1817). By ALICE NOBLE WARING. Columbia; University of South Carolina Press, 1962. vi, 252. $6.

The exciting and significant career of Andrew Pickens is well worth studying. More than just a general of the South Carolina Militia during the American Revolution where he was as important as the state's two more flamboyant heroes, Marion and Sumter, he made an even greater contribution to American growth through his repeated and successful work as *ad hoc* Indian Commissioner during the two decades following independence. In addition, he served in the South Carolina legislature and in the first United States Congress.

The author, who is engaged in editing a collection of the Pickens papers for the South Caroliniana Society, has provided a good insight into the military problems which faced the South Carolina up-country during the revolution. The details of the local guerilla battles in which Pickens took part are an interesting and informative supplement to the military histories of the war. The vicious Tory-baiting, so prevalent during and after the revolution, appears logical after reading of the brutal murders, pillage, and other outrages committed by both Tories and Patriots.

The account of the Battle of Cowpens, Pickens' most famous encounter, adds little to the standard military history of the revolution by Christopher Ward—a work not mentioned in the footnotes. The one exception to this is the well documented claim that it was Pickens, not General Daniel Morgan, who suggested making a stand at the Cowpens rather than crossing the Broad River.

The most valuable section of the book is the treatment of Pickens' work as Indian Commissioner. Eminently fair, yet by no means a pacifist, he won and maintained the respect and trust of the Indians in the South early in his life. He led the successful expedition against the Cherokees in 1782, and thereafter was repeatedly called upon by Presidents Washington and Jefferson to negotiate with the Indians over the boundary problems which regularly cropped up in Georgia and the Carolinas. The frustration of dealing with men like the shrewd half-breed chief, Alexander McGillivray, is well told, and the innate contradiction of Indian rights and American expansion shows through clearly.

It is a shame that there is no bibliography, forcing readers to plot through line after line of abbreviated titles to compile one. Also minor but confusing errors have crept into the footnotes. For example, obvious as they may be to a student of South Carolina history, the abbreviations McCrady (1775-1780) and McCrady (1780-1783) are never given a complete citation. To compound the error, the publication data of the various sources is not included.

Mrs. Waring admits in her foreword that this was to be a report of the activities of the man rather than a portrait, but as such the book stands in a never-never land. It is clearly not a biography and adds little to our understanding of the man or the social history of the period; nor is it a complete study of the guerilla warfare in South Carolina during the revolution or the Indian wars of the next two decades. There are some aspects of Pickens' life which ought to be further developed. He was apparently quite interested in the critical problem of representation in the state legislature for the up-country, but that fascinating topic is dropped with that comment.

There is a certain lack of color in this study of a life that was anything but dull. Pickens lived a full and rugged life on what was then America's frontier, and a more complete biography—which should now be possible thanks to Mrs. Waring's work on his papers—would not only tell the story of a significant figure in American history, but could add greatly to our knowledge and understanding of society and culture in the Carolina up-country during the revolutionary and federalist periods.

WARREN F. KIMBALL

U. S. Naval Academy

White Servitude in Colonial South Carolina. By WARREN B. SMITH. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1961. ix, 151. $4.75.

An examination of a neglected aspect of history is in itself a commendable project. Warren Smith's investigation of indentured servitude in South Carolina prior to the revolution takes up a subject which has been facilely dismissed by most historians as insignificant. Smith asserts that historians have been blinded by the Negro majorities which developed in the mid-eighteenth century after rice had become South Carolina's major agricultural product. Although the numbers of indentured servants was relatively small, he concludes their role was significant. They not only helped populate the back country, but provided the nucleus for opposition in the cities to the tidewater aristocracy.

The research and collecting of data which has gone into the

preparation of this study is impressive. There are numerous statistical tables, including a painstakingly compiled list, taken from the ads and notices in the *South Carolina Gazette,* showing the national origins of indentured servants. Smith had done his newspaper research at great length, and there is also a tabulation of the trades and occupations of various servants—diligently gathered from the same paper.

Unhappily, these and similar statistics do not always directly support his thesis. This is frequently because much data is unavailable—for example, immigration statistics do not normally differentiate between free and indentured arrivals, severely limiting their applicability. However, his claim of a significant role for the indentured servant is not given unqualified support even by the evidence he does use. The census figures quoted in Appendix III fail to bear out the inference that Negro slavery was not overwhelmingly accepted until around 1750 (p. viii). In 1708 his figures show 5,500 slaves to 120 white servants, a ratio of 67:1. Negro slaves alone accounted for about 43% of the population, and Indian slaves another 14%. It is hard to imagine that such a small number of white indentured servants could have had a significant role in the life of the colony—except by virtue of their lack of numbers. Although the statistics indicate that a much larger number of white servants came to South Carolina after 1730 (which seems to contradict Smith's claim that their influence was strongest in the early period), they came in numbers far smaller than other colonies, and nowhere near the 50% total for all the colonies estimated by Mildred Campbell in her study of the "Social Origins of Some Early Americans."

Perhaps the most rewarding reading is in the chapter dealing with the provincial government's promotion of the importation of white indentured servants. It leaves the impression that the authorities were singularly unsuccessful in their efforts, since the legal ratio of Negro slaves to white servants was regularly increased as were bounties and similar blandishments. More important, it provides an interesting glimpse of the strong fear of slave uprisings held by South Carolinians even before 1700.

The major conclusion, that the real influence of the indentured white servant came after he was "out of his time," is unsupported. He states that they migrated to the back country where they must have played a significant role in politics and society, but does not go any further. In fact, in this context there seems to be little reason to go to the trouble of distinguishing between indentured servants who had fulfilled their bond, and free immigrants, of relatively the same social and economic status.

In general, the book is a mass of undigested information which other historians would do well to utilize as part of a more complete investigation.

WARREN F. KIMBALL

U. S. Naval Academy

The Era of Reconstruction, 1865-1877. By KENNETH M. STAMPP. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1965. x, 229. $4.95.

Was Radical Reconstruction a Good Thing or a Bad Thing? A few years ago most historians said it was corrupt and bad, but nowadays most historians think there was much good in it since the Radicals understood the problems and faced them more constructively than anyone else. Brilliantly and emotionally Professor Stampp sums up the new argument.

Stampp argues that Lincoln was really a Whig conservative, eager to avoid sweeping social changes of any kind, unconcerned about the Negro, determined to reestablish the old social order by allying the Republican Party to the old planter class. Johnson was really a Jacksonian who hated planters and capitalists equally, determined to create a society of small farmers by allying his followers to the Southern yeoman class. When the Southern yeomen flocked to their old planter leaders, however, Johnson reluctantly joined them against modern capitalism. The Radicals were really the old reformers of the 1850's, determined to create a new social order by allying the Republican Party to the Southern Negro. Certainly, Stampp maintains, the Radicals never "brutalized" the Southern whites. Indeed, their greatest mistake was their unwillingness to confiscate lands for the Negro.

Carpetbaggers, Scalawags and Negroes who made up the new Southern governments were generally well-intentioned and able, Stampp continues. Corruption stemmed from business and especially railroad interests which bribed and profited from Johnson governments, Radical governments, Redeemer governments and Northern governments equally. Radical idealism began to die after 1869 and increasingly Southern whites were allowed to reconstruct their society and abuse the Negro as they liked. Since the Radicals guaranteed the triumph of modern capitalism over agrarianism, however, their work can be counted a success.

Professor Stampp fully accepts the current historiographical propositions that each generation writes its own history, and that the historian must make the past significant by bold judgments. Beginning with a commitment to the civil rights movement of the 1960's, Stampp goes to the past not to discover what the facts say,

but to fit well-known facts into a meaningful modern framework. The book is not a puzzled man's attempt to discover truth; it is a lawyer's brief for the Radicals. It is a splendid brief, teeming with challenging ideas. But since it is an argument, the reader feels compelled to raise objections at every step. And a lot of questions can be raised.

To begin with, are the moral problems of the 1960's really those of the 1860's? Can one understand "The Era of Reconstruction" with hardly a word about the conditions and problems of the South? Were the goals of Lincoln and Johnson really so reactionary or is this somewhat peculiar interpretation a device for making the Radical goal look like the most reasonable alternative? Were the Radicals really so idealistic or is this a way of putting them in their best light? Stampp's argument seems especially weak here and at variance with the economic interpretation he insists upon for almost every other group. If the Radicals were largely concerned about the Negro why didn't they consider land redistribution more seriously? Was Radical Reconstruction a "success" because it guaranteed industrial triumph, particularly if this was not their aim, or is "success" another effort at favorable judgment? If their goal was Negro welfare, weren't the Radicals dismal failures? By defending the Radicals on every count—in terms of analogy, alternatives, motives, means, and accomplishments—the argument seems to contradict itself.

Although Stampp's method almost requires disagreement, this is a sparkling and important work. Possibly less persuasive than the similar book by John Hope Franklin, it is far more suggestive. Stampp has a genius for asking the right questions. His interpretations of Lincoln and Johnson, and his new emphasis on the role of business are especially important. The book is far from the last word, for such an approach is not designed to provide definitive answers. The type of questions it poses, however, helps explain why Reconstruction has so easily replaced the Civil War as the fashionable topic of debate among professional historians.

GEORGE H. CALLCOTT

University of Maryland

Lincoln's Gadfly, Adam Gurowski. By LEROY H. FISCHER. Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1964, xvii, 301. $6.95.

Adam Gurowski, journalist, propagandist, and self-appointed adviser to politicans, provides the subject for a study into the mentality of a Radical during the Civil War. Born of the Polish aristocracy, Gurowski became a nationalist in the struggle against

Russian domination in 1830. In defeat he reversed his position and became an advocate of Russian leadership in the Panslavic movement. For a period he held a civil service position in the Czarist government but eventually fled to the United States in 1849.

In New York and Boston he became acquainted with many of the prominent political and literary figures of the era. Gurowski himself wrote numerous books and articles and for a time served on the staff of the New York *Tribune*. During the early years of Lincoln's administration he served as a clerk in the State Department until his dismissal in 1862. Consequently, he had access to many secrets, gossip, and rumors of official Washington, and many of these he preserved in his diary. The Count identified himself with the radical wing of the Republican party and was on intimate terms with many of its members. In his diary and papers he mirrored the Radical mentality towards the war, and his papers have therefore been of great value to historians.

Professor Fischer has directed his efforts towards understanding and synthesizing the attitudes and opinions of Gurowski rather than in presenting a biographical treatment of him. In doing so, he has made a contribution to the understanding of Radical reactions and attitudes in this critical period. However, a broader analysis of the Count's views in sharper comparison with the thinking of other contemporary Radicals would have greatly enhanced the book's value. Despite this the character of Gurowski is vividly brought to life and makes for interesting reading.

RICHARD R. DUNCAN

University of Richmond

Baroness von Riedesel and the American Revolution: Journal and Correspondence of a Tour of Duty, 1776-1783. Translated by MARVIN L. BROWN, JR., with the assistance of MARTA HUTH. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1965. Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg, Virginia. xlvii, 222. $6.

It must have been a grand lady indeed who with three small daughters, the oldest not yet five and the youngest only ten weeks, would begin a journey from Brunswick to America in order to follow her husband, the commander of the Brunswick mercenaries, through the American Revolution. And it must have been a formidable woman who would continue her journey after reaching out of her halted carriage in the pitch of night and accidentally grasping the wool-clad leg of the dangling corpse of one of the 130 highwaymen who had been executed in the last two weeks in

the few miles between Maastricht and Brussels, knowing as she did that the 130 dead men were supposed to represent less than one-fourth of the band of highwaymen; who did not collapse with fright after discovering that the noises that had kept her awake during much of the night while she tried to sleep in the grass on Rattlesnake Island in the St. Lawrence River were, indeed, rattlesnakes; who in the middle of the battle of Saratoga could stand in the open during an American bombardment while the English and German officers buried General Simon Fraser on a hill at precisely six o'clock in the afternoon, exactly as he requested; who could become no more angry when in Canada a surgeon twice tried to pull a good tooth rather than the bad one and dislocated it so that for two years she could not close her mouth properly; and who could name one of her daughters America and another Canada.

Surely Frederika Charlotte Louise von Massow, the Baroness von Riedesel, was a grand and formidable woman, as this new translation of her journal and her letters makes perfectly apparent. In addition to the journal and thirteen letters of the Baroness, some of them never before published, the volume includes thirty-eight letters of her husband and one letter of her oldest daughter, Augusta, to the young girl's grandmother. Some of these letters also have never been published before. Marvin L. Brown, Jr. provides a good introduction and index and good notes, and the volume also includes interesting portraits, illustrations, and maps.

The Baroness was a grand and formidable woman, but this was the century of grand and formidable women. It was the century of Lady Mary Montagu and of Mary Wollstonecraft in England, of Catherine the Great in Russia, and of Madame Pompadour in France. These were impressive women, and often the men of the century recognized their superiority and were uncomfortable in their own unacknowledged inadequacy. "Speak of unimportant things," General Riedesel advised his wife on one occasion, obviously preferring frivolity to profundity. "But enough of myself, my dearest wife," this insecure and self-indulgent and egotistical soldier wrote on another occasion after spending twenty-seven lines on himself, "and now let me speak of you, in whom I am much more interested than in myself." Whereupon he devotes not quite two lines to her before ending his letter.

Grand and formidable the Baroness may have been, but she was not wholly admirable. She was cultivated, courageous, tactful, and patient, but she was also vindictive, petty, and artificial. Her husband was suspicious, jealous, self-pitying, and both servile and imperious. Both were pedantic, proud, pompous, arrogant, venal, selfish, self-centered, self-righteous, patronizing, sanctimonious, un-

critical, conventional, and complacent. Their vices, like their virtues, were those of their century.

Valuable to the social, cultural, economic, military, and political historian, this attractive volume will also interest anyone who enjoys fascinating ladies. It might still be difficult for us in the twentieth century to understand what the Baroness was doing in America for six years during the Revolution, but this volume goes a long way toward helping us to answer that question.

C. ASHLEY ELLEFSON

State University College, Cortland, New York

Appomattox: The Last Campaign. By BURLEIGH CUSHING RODICK. New York: Philosophical Library, Inc., 1965. 220. $6.

This detailed and anecdotal retelling of the events leading up to and away from Appomattox does not, as the author says, "aim . . . to emphasize 'newness' or novelty but accuracy, objectivity, balanced judgments and historical truth." Whether his achievement is an improvement on, for instance, the first ten chapters of Doctor Freeman's *R. E. Lee,* Volume IV, in which the same ground is covered, we are prevented from learning; for Mr. Rodick's statements are unsupported by cited authority. "Since the 'general reader' dislikes documentation and since it increases the cost for the publisher, he has stripped his manuscript of all numbered notes and all bibliography except a list of manuscript sources. These unpublished notes and sources may be verified by consulting a typescript of the work on file with the Manuscript Division of the New York Public Library." It was quite early in Chapter Two that this reader felt the need of knowing the authority for a quotation, and it was not sufficient that this existed behind an iron gate a thousand miles away. A small, modestly bound book with only one picture is overpriced at six dollars if it cannot include the proof of its "accuracy" and "historical truth"; and it is the last straw when "limitations of space preclude indexing most of the military units engaged in the Appomattox campaign."

ELLEN HART SMITH

Owensboro, Ky.

The Southern States Since the War 1870-71. By ROBERT SOMERS. University, Alabama: University of Alabama Press, 1965. xxi, 293. $5.95.

The striking thing about Mr. Somers' book is its modernity. It is hard to believe it was a hundred years ago that this readable Scottish journalist wrote of (for instance. the Ku-Klux-

Klan: ". . . it is the deep vice of all such secret leagues to survive, in a more degenerate form, the circumstances which could give even a colourable justification to their existence, and to pass finally into the hands of utter scoundrels, with no good motive, and with foul passions of revenge, or plunder, or lust of dread and mysterious power alone in their hearts." He says also, "There is a tendency in the Northern press to make too much of 'Southern crimes and outrages,' and by exaggeration and perversion to keep alive the very disloyalty they denounce." Writing of what we now call integrated schools, he thinks they are "open to the gravest . . . objection in respect of the mere art of school instruction; and even though it were sacred in principle and morality, yet it is not within a thousand miles of the legitimate sphere of compulsory legislation."

Our contemporaries who have said these same things in nearly these words were personally affected and emotionally involved, and allowance has duly been made for them. Robert Somers was not involved or affected at all. This is what an intelligent and objective economist and newspaperman really thought and saw as he travelled through the reconstructed south. His judgments were not hurried, for he took five months for the trip. No person or society sponsored him or paid his expenses; he was at liberty to speak his whole mind. A cool and temperate man, he observed dramatic social conditions as matter-of-factly as he regarded the statistics which spatter his book. Everywhere he was at pains to get accurate figures and charts; in Selma, Alabama, for instance, "an extensive cotton mart," he noted that "Upwards of 50,000 bales have already been received this season, and the merchants and brokers expect to draw 25,000 more—being within 15,000 bales of the highest receipts before the war. The railway must be helping Selma. . . ." Mr. Somers was particularly interested in the railways; he was travelling by train and missed nothing: "The cost of building a railroad in Georgia . . . is from 18,000 to 30,000 dollars a mile. . . ." He also gives tables of Virginia tobacco crops for the four years before and the four years after the war; compares the census figures of North Carolina; notes South Carolina mortality as well as its public school statistics; is specific about "little bill transactions on cotton liens at the rate of 40 per cent. per annum" in Mississippi; knows how many Louisiana sugar-mills have converted to steam-power (664) and how many (153) are still on horse and mule power; and knows also that the total capital of the banks in Memphis, Tennessee, is $1,700,781.00. He is, in short, truly impressive as a reporter.

Dr. Malcolm C. McMillan of Auburn University has provided a suitably excellent introduction and a good usable index for what is

certainly a good and usable authentic source. Too long out of print, it reappears now at a psychological moment. Read during the current reconstruction period, Mr. Somers is downright illuminating.

ELLEN HART SMITH

Owensboro, Ky.

Patty Cannon, Woman of Mystery. By TED GILES. Easton, Md.: The Easton Publishing Company, 1965. 95. $1.

This attractive little booklet pulls together most of the facts and much of the legend which has grown up over the years around Maryland's "First Lady of Crime." The drawings by John Moll make this an all-Eastern Shore production which is fitting, since Patty Cannon's activities centered there. The research appears to be thorough, and the credits are generous. There is an index, but there is no map, which is all the more to be regretted when one has seen other maps Mr. Moll has drawn.

C. A. P. H.

BOOKS RECEIVED FOR REVIEW

Catholics in Colonial America. By JOHN TRACY ELLIS. Baltimore: Helicon Press, Inc., 1965. Benedictine Studies: Eight. 486. $9.75.

Writing: Man's Great Invention. By J. HAMBLETON OBER. A Publication of the Peabody Institute, Baltimore, Maryland. New York: Ivan Obolensky, Inc. xvi, 174. $7.50.

The End of an Era. By JOHN SERGEANT WISE. Edited and annotated by CURTIS CARROLL DAVIS. New York: Thomas Yoseloff, 1965. lxiii, 498. $8.50.

The Lower Cape Fear in Colonial Days. By LAWRENCE LEE. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1965. ix, 334. $6.

The American Revolution: How Revolutionary Was It? Edited by GEORGE ATHAN BILLIAS. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1965. 122. $1.50 (paper).

The Myth of the New History: The Techniques and Tactics of the New Mythologists of American History. By DAVID L. HOGGAN. Nutley, N .J.: The Craig Press, 1965. vi, 250. $4.50.

Pine Trees and Politics: The Naval Stores and Forest Policy in Colonial New England 1691-1775. By JOSEPH J. MALONE. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1965. xi, 219. $5.

Shipping in the Port of Annapolis 1748-1775. By VAUGHN W. BROWN. Annapolis: United States Naval Institute, 1965. [Sea Power Monograph Number 1.] 72. $6.50. (paper).

After Slavery: The Negro in South Carolina During Reconstruction, 1861-1877. By JOEL WILLIAMSON. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1965. ix, 442. $7.50.

Controversial Mark Hopkins. By ESTELLE LATTA in collaboration with MARY L. ALLISON. Second Edition. Sacramento, California: Cothran Historical and Research Foundation, 1963. xxvi, 257. $4.50.

The C.S.S. Florida: Her Building and Operations. By FRANK LAWRENCE OWSLEY, JR. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1965. 208. $6.

War Within a War. The Confederacy Against Itself. By CARLETON BEALS. Philadelphia: Chilton Books, 1965. xi, 177. $3.95.

The Theater in Colonial America. By HUGH F. RANKIN. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1965. xiii, 239. $6.

Law and Authority in Colonial America. Selected essays edited with an introduction by GEORGE ATHAN BILLIAS, Barre, Mass.: Barre Publishing Company, 1965. xxi, 208. $5.

Books in American History: A Basic List for High Schools. By JOHN

E. WILTZ. Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1964. 150. $1.

The Teaching of American History in High Schools. By MAURICE G. BAXTER, ROBERT H. FERRELL, and JOHN E. WILTZ. Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1964. 160. $3.

Here Come the Rebels. By WILBUR STURTEVANT NYE. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1965. xi, 412. $7.95.

Magna Carta and Its Influence in the World Today. By SIR IVOR JENNINGS. New York: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1965. Prepared for British Information Services by the Central Office of Information. 47. $.75. (paper).

Archeology and the Historical Society. By J. C. HARRINGTON. Nashville, Tenn.: The American Association for State and Local History, 1965. 53. $1. (paper).

Governor Thomas H. Hicks of Maryland and the Civil War. By GEORGE L. RADCLIFFE. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1965 (reprint). Series XIX, Nos. 11-12, Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science. 131.

Jonathan Worth: Biography of a Southern Unionist. By RICHARD LEE ZUBER. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1965. 351. $7.50.

NOTES AND QUERIES

Shriver Homestead—The old Shriver Homestead at Union Mills is now one hundred and sixty-eight years old! Members of the same Shriver family always lived here, entertained distinguished guests, and acquired and preserved furnishings, utensils, toys and tools from every age of our nation's history. Every generation has helped to preserve this unique heritage of the American past.

But time and age and weather are destroying this historic landmark, and unless immediate steps are taken for its maintenance and preservation, its long life will come to an end, and its unusual character and charm will be unknown and forgotten within a few years. That is why THE UNION MILLS HOMESTEAD FOUNDATION, INC. was formed in 1964, chartered in Maryland as a non-profit corporation, for the specific purpose of preserving and restoring the Homestead before it is too late.

For some time the Homestead has been opened to the public during the summer as a unique museum of American country life. The enthusiastic interest of many visitors has demonstrated that the Homestead is worth preserving at all costs. It has been described in many state and national publications as a valuable and distinctive historic shrine. Readers are invited to become Charter Members during this first year of organization and to suggest others who will be interested. We will look forward to working with you in saving this historic American Homestead.

Frederic Shriver Klein, President
THE UNION MILLS HOMESTEAD FOUNDATION, INC.
R-2, Westminster, Md. 21157

The Papers of Jefferson Davis—This project is an effort to collect, edit, and publish a comprehensive edition of the letters, papers, and speeches relating to Davis' long career. Although we realize that it will never be possible to describe any documentary publication of any public figure as "The complete works of . . .", we are hoping to make this series as comprehensive as possible. In the effort to achieve this goal and locate hitherto unknown materials which relate to Jefferson Davis, survey letters have been forwarded to more than nine hundred libraries and maunscript repositories, plus announcements to newspapers, book dealers, and broadcasting

stations. Now, we solicit your aid in furthering our attempts to find unpublished items.

The Papers of Jefferson Davis has received the endorsement and approval of both the National Historical Publications Commission and the United States Civil War Centennial Commission. Recently the latter awarded this project its highest award—The Centennial Medallion. The editors would appreciate information on any unpublished Davis material. Please contact

Haskell M. Monroe, Jr., Editor
The Papers of Jefferson Davis
Box 1892, Rice University
Houston, Texas, 77006

The Smithsonian Journal of History—The Smithsonian Institution will begin publication in 1966 of an illustrated scholarly quarterly of general history. The function of the *Journal* is to publish scholarly historical articles which will benefit from extensive illustrations. The usual scholarly footnotes will also be printed. The visual quality of the *Journal* will be high. Printing and engraving will be of first quality. Color illustrations may be used where necessary.

Contributions from scholars in the United States and abroad are invited. The *Journal* will not concentrate on any one specialized area, geographical region, or time period. It is not limited to American history. Articles which merely report the results of specialized studies for other specialists will not be used. Articles based on specialized studies, in which the more general historical importance of the subject is shown, are welcome. We also desire narrative articles, and synoptic articles dealing with the re-evaluation and re-interpretation of broad areas or problems. We are interested in the history of the arts and manufactures, and the history of science and technology, as well as in political, social, cultural, and military history.

Manuscripts should be accompanied by illustrations (with captions) suitable for occupying approximately one-fourth of the space devoted to the article. The *Journal* cannot undertake to locate or provide illustrations, and in general will not consider unillustrated articles. Notes should be typed, double-spaced, in a separate section, following the form of the *American Historical Review*. Manuscripts should be accompanied by a stamped self-addressed envelope. After publication, an author (except for Smithsonian curators) will receive $100 in lieu of photographic expenses. A prize of $200 will be

awarded annually for the best article in each volume, as determined by the Editorial Board.

The Editorial Board is made up of professional historians on the staff of the Smithsonian's Museum of History and Technology. Its members are Walter Cannon, Silvio Bedini, Jacob Kainen, Philip Lundeberg, and Peter Welsh. Manuscripts, requests for "Instructions for Authors," and requests for other information should be addressed to

Dr. Walter Cannon, Editor
The Smithsonian Journal of History
Smithsonian Institution
Washington, D.C., 20560

Civil War Documents—The United States Department of the Interior has announced that a collection of valuable documents accumulated by Thomas R. Ware, Confederate Navy Paymaster at Mobile, Albama, during the Civil War, has been transferred from Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park, Virginia, to the National Archives in Washington, D. C. The collection, containing about 4,000 items, includes correspondence and contracts involved in the building of ironclad vessels; records of expenditures and contracts for repairing and outfitting the *Florida*, the South's foreign built commerce raider; correspondence and financial records of Charles J. Helm, Confederate States agent at Havana, Cuba, concerning stores shipped to Mobile through the blockade during 1863 and 1864; and records concerning Confederate marines stationed at Mobile.

National Park Service Director George B. Hartzog, Jr., said the collection, which also contains items relating to Ware's service as a United States Navy paymaster before the Civil War, was donated to the National Military Park by the National Bank of Fredericksburg after being discovered in the bank's attic in 1939. Transfer of the collection to the National Archives was suggested by National Archives officials when they learned that the documents complement other records of Ware already their holdings, including copies of letters sent by him from the Confederate Naval Station at Mobile.

James Hamilton—The Brooklyn Museum is planning the first Retrospective Exhibition of the works of the 19th century artist James Hamilton, scheduled for March, 1966, and is making an

effort to locate all known paintings by this artist. Please contact

Miss Arlene Jacobowitz, Curatorial Assistant
The Brooklyn Museum
Eastern Parkway, Brooklyn, N.Y. 11238

Staff Changes 1965-1966, History Department, University of Maryland—Promoted are: Wilhelmina F. Jashemski, David S. Sparks, and Roland N. Stromberg to professor; George H. Callcott to associate professor. New appointments to the staff of the history department in September, 1965, are: David A. Shannon, professor and chairman; Wayne S. Cole and Adrienne Koch (on leave), professor; Jackson T. Main, visiting professor 1965-1966; Joel H. Sibey, assistant professor; Richard T. Farrell, assistant professor (also Dept. of Education); Mary K. Matossian and William H. Williams, lecturers. Retiring from the Department are: Verne E. Chatelain, Herbert A. Crosman and Fred W. Wellborn.

To the Editor

A Southern Maryland Tour—A Sunday afternoon drive through Southern Maryland can prove an excursion into the past by tracing in about five hours the ten-day escape route followed by John Wilkes Booth 100 years ago April 14.

Shortly after 11 o'clock that night Booth crossed the Anacostia bridge at Washington into Prince George's County and pretty steadily galloped along Maryland Route 5. In 1865 it took him two hours to reach the home of Mrs. Mary Surratt at Clinton. Today it takes little more than half an hour.

Two miles further on, turn left at Matawoman-Beantown Road and follow Route 382 about a mile where Route 232 branches off to the right. There is the former home of Dr. Samuel Mudd who set Booth's broken leg.

Returning to Route 5, continue for about eight miles to where a Historic Marker proclaims Booth entered Charles County. Route 5 here becomes U. S. Route 301.

A short mile left at Bel Alton is the former home of Samuel Cox where Booth sought help at 4 o'clock Easter Sunday morning in 1865. Nearby is a pine thicket where he hid for five days while Thomas A. Jones brought him food and newspapers.

The Potomac River bridge crosses into King George County, Virginia, and there, at Dahlgren, the former home of widowed Mrs. Rose Quesenberry, who fed Booth, now is a sailing marina.

From Dahlgren follow Route 206 across Peppermill Creek and at the top of the hill a lane to the left leads to the former home of Dr. Richard Stewart, whose suspicions caused him to refuse aid to Booth on April 23rd.

Back on Route 301, Booth crossed the Rappahannock River at Port Royal and about five miles beyond there on the military reservation of A. P. Hill, a Historic Marker designates the location of the Garrett farm in whose tobacco barn Booth found the end of his escape route early in the morning of April 26, 1865.

Nan Carroll
5441 N. 19, Arlington, Va.

Review of Confederate Courier—The Reverend Alfred Isacsson's interesting review of *Confederate Courier* by Helen Jones Campbell, in the June issue of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* contains one mis-statement which I should like to call to the readers' attention. Reverend Isacsson refers to the book as a novel. In fact, it is not a novel at all, but a work of non-fiction.

John Donovan
St. Martin's Press, Inc.
175 Fifth Avenue
New York, N. Y. 10010

Farewell to Life, by William Bose Marye—The editor has received a personal copy of Mr. Marye's new volume of poems, and he would like to express his thanks not only for this work but also for the valuable contribution the author has made to Maryland local history and archeology. Although the editor is by no means a literary critic, so that he can pass judgment on the merits of Mr. Marye's poetry, the work nevertheless makes interesting reading. From the historian's viewpoint, his poems will have a value; for several of the pieces are commentaries on our times. Mr. Marye speaks out against those who mistreat the land in the name of progress. The "Songs of a Suburban Slum" refers to delinquency. A "Farewell to Maryland" comments on profligate waste:

> When nought remains to bless,
> Ye who have loved this land,
> Make heard your reprimand:
> A curse on their success.

In "Songs of a Suburban Slum," in "The Wolf Pack":

> From alley fastness drawn,

Jungle of lane and street,
Of poverty the spawn,
To hunt in packs they meet.
Their faces, hard and bold,
Seem prematurely old.

Other sonnets and songs strike a far more cheerful and peaceful note, "The Sea Is All Our Ancestry" having philosophical overtones.

R. W.

CONTRIBUTORS

HERBRET E. KLINGELHOFER is a resident of Bethesda, Md., and has published articles on Revolutionary history in various periodicals. He is the author of a children's book and at present is preparing a biography of Matthew Ridley, eighteenth century Maryland merchant and state agent in Europe. He has published, on this subject "Matthew Ridley's Diary During the Peace Negotiations of 1782," in the January, 1963 issue of the *William and Mary Quarterly.*

JAMES MCLACHLAN is a member of the Department of History at Yale University. He has taught at Fordham University. He is the author of "The Genteel Reformers" in Richard Hofstadter's and M. L. Seymour's the *Sociology of American History* to be published soon.

GARY B. NASH is instructor in History at Princeton University. He is currently preparing a study of colonial society and politics in Pennsylvania. In July he published "The American Clergy and the French Revolution" in the *William and Mary Quarterly.*

EDWARD N. TODD is an assistant professor of history at Denison University, Grantsville, Ohio

WILLIAM VOSS ELDER, III is a student of architectural history. He is the author of several articles in this field. He wrote "Bloomsbury, a Cradock House in the Worthington Valley" in December, 1958 for this *Magazine.* At present, he is the Curator of Decorative Arts in the Baltimore Museum of Art.

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